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INTRODUCTION

By

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

On the morning of November 5, 1980, black Americans had reason to ask themselves whether the extraordinarily strong showing of conservatives forces the day before represented the final nail in the coffin of the Second Reconstruction, begun so promisingly in the 1960s with landmark civil rights and social legislation, court decisions and executive actions, and then allowed and/or encouraged to languish and wither in the 1970s. Not only had the more conservative of the two major candidates, Ronald Reagan, won the Presidency -- and blacks had given 90% of their votes to President Carter -- but control of the Senate had shifted to the Republicans thus elevating several arch-conservatives to the chairmanships of important committees, and inroads had been made into the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives.

It was evident that there had been a movement to the right of the political spectrum and the satisfaction experienced by conservatives over this development was matched to a large degree in the black community by the feeling that hard times were ahead.

To understand this view, one must first understand that while there have always been black conservatives, conservatism as a political philosophy, whether in traditional or neo-conservative trappings, has always been unappealing to the majority of black people. The reasons for this are rooted in the black experience in which conservatism is often viewed as a code word for the retention of the status-quo at best, or for the retrenchment of civil, social and human rights gains at worse -- neither of which can be construed as being in the best interests of black people.

Conservatives may very well argue, and many of them with total sincerity, that their views are not necessarily anti-black. But the fact persists that this is the perception of conservatism held in much of Black America, and this perception lay at the heart of the very real concern, and in some instances dismay, that many blacks felt in the wake of the November election.

Whether this concern or dismay is warranted forms a question that cannot be answered at this point -- there just has not been enough time. The Reagan Administration is just preparing to take over the leadership of the national government and it has not yet clearly defined how it proposes to deal with programs and policies of crucial importance to blacks, other minorities and the poor. And while some of the new Senatorial leaders are sharpening their axes in anticipation of chopping away at the programs and policies that they personally oppose -- such as the Voting Rights Act, affirmative action and food stamps -- it is not clear that they command sufficient forces to have their way.

What is clear, however, is that efforts over the next several years to maintain and enhance the status of blacks will take place in a political atmosphere that is markedly conservative and any strategies to ensure this end will have to take that factor into consideration.

Blacks will be aided in their functioning in a conservative atmosphere by the historical fact that there have always been black conservatives within the black community and a dialogue has always been maintained between them and blacks of a more liberal bent. While the number of blacks who would apply the label "conservative" to themselves has never been very large, those who have chosen to wear it have not been exorcised from the black community and their views have been given a hearing. There is little doubt that the same process will continue to occur.

This dialogue has and will be materially abetted by general agreement within the black community on basic goals, although there might be honest differences over the best route to travel to reach those goals. As an example, it is hard to believe that there is any real quarrel within the black community over the pressing need for jobs, the staggering dimensions of the problems of youth, the deplorable failure of the schools to adequately educate, and welfare reform. It is when specific answers are given that paths diverge and differences become apparent.

These differences are in fact helpful. They signify that the black community is not monolithic, that it does not think with one mind, nor does it march to the beat of the same drummer. Such diversity is a measure of an intellectual maturity that welcomes hearing diverse opinions on a given issue.

This willingness to objectively examine various approaches should not, however, be interpreted as a sign that the black community is prepared to abandon certain positions it sees as crucial to its survival. Here, we particularly cite such all important issues as affirmative action, the 10% set-aside for minority contractors, busing, welfare reform, full employment, fair housing legislation and the strict enforcement of all civil rights laws. On these, there can be no compromise.

The election has given black conservatives a new prominence, but we suggest that they should be aware that their espousal of conservative ideas does not lessen their responsibility to combat racism or to protect the best interests of the black community. They should be ever mindful that racism continues to be a common burden shared by all blacks regardless of political persuasion and/or economic status.

As the National Urban League's Black Pulse Survey reported in 1980, next to unemployment, blacks, regardless of their income levels, believe that racism is the most serious problem they face. Some 64% of the more than 3,000 black heads of households questioned felt that black people are being discriminated against a "great deal" today and this feeling was more pronounced among blacks with incomes of $20,000 and over (71%), than it was among those earning under $6,000 (61%). The survey went on to say:

"If there has been a significant decline in racism in recent years, middle income blacks appear to be less aware of it than low income blacks." Thus, a reasonable assumption is that economic well-being does not guarantee protection from racism, or what is perceived as racism.

In the light of such a strong attitude held by blacks, it should not be too difficult to understand why there was a feeling of alarm and in some instances a sense of hysteria present in many black communities during the past year as a number of negative forces seemed to focus in on those communities with special intensity.

We have already noted the election in which blacks ended up, to quote political columnist David Broder, as "the most conspicuous outsiders at the new government's victory celebration" -- the only group in the country to give 90% of its vote to the losing candidate.

But there were other forces at work and they were just as important as the election, if not more so, in helping foster this feeling of alarm. First and foremost was the matter of black unemployment. The official Department of Labor figure of 8% unemployment for black heads of households in 1980 was bad enough, but as the NUL's Black Pulse Survey disclosed, the actual unemployment rate for this category of worker was 15%, almost twice the official rate.

Similarly, while the government was saying that about 13% of all black workers were unemployed during 1980 — twice the total for white workers -- the actual size of the black jobless, based on the NUL's Hidden Unemployment Index, which takes into account discouraged workers who have given up the search for a job, was 25%, or one out of every four.

This rate is equal to the unemployment rate for the nation at the peak of the Great Depression, but this fact has failed to impress itself upon most Americans who, not realizing the critical dimensions of the problem, have shown little interest in its solution. But the millions of blacks who are without jobs live with the problem every day, growing increasingly convinced and alarmed that nobody really cares what happens to them.

Also adding to this sense of alarm in 1980 were the rising wave of violence directed against blacks, the ominous growth of such hate groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, and the apparent inability or unwillingness of the criminal justice system to act equitably when race is involved.

The record of violence was especially disturbing. At least 24 blacks were killed in a series of unprovoked and obviously racially inspired murders in places as far apart as Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Oklahoma City, Johnstown, Pa., and Salt Lake City. No one has been convicted.

In Atlanta, 11 black boys and girls were murdered and their killer still walks free. Four other children -- a girl and three boys -- are missing and presumed dead. In Buffalo, seven black men were slain. No one has been apprehended. And in New York City, just before the Christmas holidays, three black men and one Hispanic male were savagely knifed to death in mid-Manhattan. The assailant remains at large.

Given these facts, it should not be difficult to understand why so many black people all across the country believe the killings are part of a national conspiracy and had the racial identities of the slayers and victims been reversed the murders would not remain long unsolved. The New York Times of January 3, 1981, described the feeling in Buffalo after the last slaying as follows:

"While some blacks believe the attacks are the work of a deranged person, many view them as part of a nationwide conspiracy by the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazis or similar groups."

Sound arguments can of course be mounted against such a perception but in the absence of hard evidence to the contrary -- and this will only come to light with arrests and convictions -- the black community is left to draw its own conclusions and it cannot ignore the reality that the murders have occurred, no convictions have been obtained, and hate groups, such as the KKK, are stepping up their activities.

On the latter point, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has detailed the potential for harm that the revitalized Klan poses in a report on its para-military training. The report says in part:

"There now arises evidence of danger of new Klan violence of an even more serious kind. In camps and clandestine training sites in various parts of the country, members of the KKK and other Klan-like racist groups are engaged in para-military training programs. Some of these activities have been labeled by their sponsors as training for 'defense,' and others have been called 'survival' courses. Regardless of the label applied, it is clear that armed racists, pathological haters of blacks, Jews and other minority groups, are engaged in para-military training for guerrilla warfare against their purported enemies. The outcome can only be more violence and tragedy."

This is a grim warning that the nation can ill afford to ignore. When people take up the gun they mean to harm other people. Of this there should be no doubt. However, instead of being exposed for the vicious and dangerous racists they are, the Klan and its sister groups in hate received unprecedented media coverage during 1980, much of it through television which permitted their spokesmen to project the groups as innocent organizations fighting only for decency. While the right of free speech must be defended most vigorously, the question has to be raised as to what public interest is served by permitting such groups to spew out their poison over the public airways?

At the same time, this rightful concern about the Klan and other fringe groups that attract violence prone disturbed people in our society should not blind Americans to the greater danger of the Klan mentality that hides behind three piece suits and pretty dresses.

It should be remembered that the old Klan went into decline when the so-called "good people" who never burned crosses or terrorized the frightened and the helpless, became embarrassed at their own racism and withdrew their support. But now racism is becoming legitimatized again and there is a direct link between the sophisticates who feel free to make derogatory remarks about blacks and other racial groups and the primitives who kill and terrorize. They are only separated by the degree of their activity.

This legitimatizing of racism has much to do with the economic crunch the nation now finds itself in. When times are hard insecurities are bred and people have a psychological need to blame someone for their own situation. And true to our history of racism it is blacks who are being made the scapegoat as long latent white hostility rises to the surface. People who were once ashamed of their feelings of prejudice now openly parade them.

Further fanning the rising flames of intolerance in 1980 were the groups who politicize religion and morality and who want to impose their narrow interpretation of Christian doctrine on the rest of us. Unless we believe as they believe on every single issue of public policy then we are "immoral" and not good Christians. Such groups are symptomatic of a national drift away from our traditional ideals of freedom and equality and toward a totalitarian society where total conformity in thought and deed is demanded of everyone.

The past year also saw the playing out of tragic dramas in Miami, Chattanooga and other cities, where underlying frustrations were ignited by sparks from a criminal justice system widely perceived as dispensing unequal justice based on race. Riots erupted when all-white juries, despite persuasive evidence, freed policemen and others accused of killing blacks. To blacks, this was a clear sign that the criminal justice system was not fair and would always act against the interests of black people.

Riots of course solve nothing, but they rarely occur in a vacuum and if our society is truly interested in preventing them, then it must deal with the underlying causes before, and not after the explosion occurs. By this time those causes are so well known that they need no listing, but they have not been addressed thus leaving the potential for other Miamis and other Chattanoogas.

If there is any overall description to give of 1980 as it was in Black America, it is that it was a year of storm warnings, a year when long-simmering problems started boiling to the surface, a year in which all of the latent forces of the past decade became fully visible. We have already detailed a number of these storm warnings: sky-high black unemployment figures accompanied by a sharp decline in already low black living standards, the deteriorating nature of race relations, the rise of hate groups and pent up frustrations that produced riots in a number of cities.

Having done this we can only ask that the nation understand the full import of these storm warnings. It is clear that deepening racial hostility, fueled by inequality and economic stagnation, threaten to tear our society apart. No one, least of all Black America wants this. It is in no one's interest and all of us will be losers.

In the papers that follow this introduction, eight distinguished and sensitive black scholars examine Black America in detail in 1980 in the context of specific subject areas. We are deeply appreciative of their contributions.

These papers are presented in this, the sixth annual "State of Black America," for the purpose of providing a factual understanding of the important issues within Black America. By so doing, we hope to encourage the adoption of programs and policies that effectively address its problems and needs.

The papers are the results of the independent thinking of the authors and should not be construed as reflecting the official position of the National Urban League. Our recommendations appear later in this publication.

We have described 1980 as a year of "storm warnings" and the word warning should be underlined. Warnings mean that there is still time to act and we have only to look to our recent past when America moved to strike down the legal barriers that divided our people into first and second class citizens to realize that we are capable of acting wisely if we have the will. That is really the question for this decade.

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Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
President
National Urban League

January 14, 1981

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF BLACK AMERICANS

By

Robert B. Hill

I. INTRODUCTION

With prime interest rates in December, 1980 surpassing the previous 20% record of April, 1980, and economic growth lagging, it is almost a certainty that this nation will be sliding into another recession as Ronald Reagan takes office as the President of the United States on January 20, 1981. Many economic analysts expect this recession of 1981 to be protracted and to have a devastating impact on the American economy since many businesses and workers have not yet recovered from the 1980 recession.

However, at the same time the nation is expected to experience increasing unemployment, the rate of inflation is not expected to decline significantly. On the contrary, the dwindling U.S. grain reserves and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' (OPEC) decision at its December meeting to raise crude oil prices by 10% will undoubtedly lead to higher food and energy prices for Americans throughout 1981.

This widening deterioration of the economy has led two Republicans: Rep. David A. Stockman (Mich.) -- the newly-appointed Director of the Office of Management and Budget -- and Rep. Jack F. Kemp (NY) to prepare a special report, "Avoiding a GOP Economic Dunkirk" for President-elect Reagan. This impassioned, but very thoughtful analysis urges the Reagan Administration to adopt a number of bold emergency initiatives during its first 100 days in order to avoid becoming overwhelmed by these economic crises over the next two years.[1]

What prospects does this economic outlook hold for black Americans? Even without a recession, most blacks as 1981 began were apprehensive about their fortunes under a Reagan Administration since they had overwhelmingly cast their votes for Jimmy Carter in November. A new recession, coupled with soaring inflation, will only exacerbate those concerns. Whether or not such fears are justified will depend, in large measure, on the kind of economic and social policies that are adopted by the new President and Congress.

If the Reagan Administration succeeds in fashioning policies that result in sustained non-inflationary economic growth and job creation, blacks will clearly benefit from such efforts. Historically, blacks have made their most significant strides during periods of overall prosperity and growth.

On the other hand, if the Reagan Administration decides to fight inflatio by inducing recessions and higher unemployment, blacks will suffer disproportionately from such initiatives. Over the years, repeated cycles of recessions have consistently eroded many of the economic advances of blacks. During the past 26 years this nation has experienced a succession of at least six recessions (1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-71, 1974-75 and 1980). Before blacks had a chance to recover from one recession, they were subjected to another. Thus, the black community is still reeling from the cumulative effects of a quarter century of recessions.[2]

While most blacks would be strongly supportive of Mr. Reagan's goal to achieve a stable and productive economy, there is much less consensus about the appropriate strategies for attaining that goal. And, most importantly, which approaches are more likely to significantly enhance the economic situation of blacks?

The record shows that economic development efforts that have been based primarily on the "trickle down" theory have invariably produced results that were indeed only a "trickle" by the time they reached blacks! Conversely, approaches that have been more directly targeted to minorities, low-income groups and inner-city areas have been of greater benefit to blacks.[3]

II. REAGAN ECONOMIC INITIATIVES

A number of initiatives have been proposed by Reagan and his associates as viable approaches for enhancing job opportunities as well as overall economic development in the black community. Some of their key proposals are as follows:

1. Shift the primary role for training and hiring the structurally unemployed from the public to the private sector through tax incentives and wage subsidies;
2. Enact a differential sub-minimum wage for teenagers in order to reduce minority youth unemployment;
3. Promote more viable black business development and thus further expand job opportunities for blacks;
4. Establish "enterprise job zones," as outlined in the Kemp-Garcia bill, that would provide significant tax incentives to stimulate business development and job creation in economically distressed inner-city areas; and
5. Encourage more community-based self-help efforts in such vital areas as economic development, neighborhood revitalization, job creation, housing rehabilitation, social services and crime prevention.

These economic proposals are clearly more "development" than "maintenance" oriented in that they place greater emphasis on stimulating initiative, self-reliance and enterprise by the private sector as well as by communities themselves. Whether the Reagan Administration is able to achieve such laudable goals depends on a number of factors.

The first and foremost of these factors is that if the economy is plagued by "double-dip" recessions, spiraling inflation and soaring interest rates for most of the next four years, many of these proposals may remain "stillborn" and may never have an opportunity to be adequately tested. The second factor is clearly political. The extent of support that Reagan receives from Congress will be a major determinant of the degree to which many of his proposals will be implemented. Obviously, the chances for enacting many of his proposals have been significantly enhanced by the fact that Republicans now control the Senate and head the most powerful committees in Congress. In addition, there is likely to be strong support for some of these economic initiatives in the House of Representatives among Democrats as well as Republicans. Of course, it is also possible that some of his proposals (such as the enterprise job zones, for example) may be so transformed and diluted in the political process from the original intent as to render them impotent in stimulating economic and job development.

A third factor is the extent to which the Reagan Administration is truly committed to building self-reliance and enterprise in the black community by adequately involving blacks in planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating major initiatives directed toward inner-city areas. If blacks are, once again, denied the opportunity to play a major role in their own economic development, any new initiatives directed to them will invariably fail and be ineffective.

A fourth factor that is a key determinant of the success of these five economic development initiatives is the degree to which they incorporate the most positive and effective features of similar past and current approaches -- regardless of whether or not they were developed by Republican or Democratic Presidents. For example, it would be unwise and cost ineffective for the Reagan Administration to attempt to design a comprehensive program for stimulating businesses in economically distressed areas without building on some of the economic development successes already achieved through such programs as Urban Action Development Grants (UDAG), Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) and Economic Development Administration Grants (EDA). Similarly, any efforts on the part of the Reagan Administration to significantly enhance the role of the private sector in employment and training programs should certainly build on the existing Private Industry Councils (PIC), established under Title VII of CETA -- the Private Sector Initiatives Program (PSIP).

In order to gauge the economic outlook for blacks over the next four years, we will now proceed to:

1. Describe the current economic status of blacks in various areas (i.e., employment, income, business development, economic development and community development);
2. Briefly review the role and effectiveness of key past and current governmental efforts in each of these areas; and
3. Critically assess the potential impact of economic initiatives proposed by Reagan in each of these areas on the economic condition of blacks.

III. BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT

Since the 1980 recession was one of the shortest (about seven months) economic declines on record, it is widely believed that its impact was also less severe. But, as a careful analysis conducted by the Wall Street Journal revealed, nothing could be further from the truth:

> Notwithstanding such brevity, the latest recession can hardly be classified as mild...In two of the five broad categories (of key economic indicators)... the 1980 slump shows up as harsher than the average for its six post-world II predecessors...
>
> in other narrower categories, the latest recession clearly ranks among the most severe.[4]

For example, the peak unemployment rate of 7.8% during the 1980 recession was significantly higher than the 7.3% average jobless rate for the peak of the preceding six recessions. In fact, based on the level of unemployment, blacks were more severely impacted by the seven-month 1980 slump than they were by the 17-month 1974-75 recession -- which all analysts agree was the most devastating decline since the Great Depression of the 1930's. While the number of unemployed white workers declined by 562,000 between 1975 and 1980, there were 200,000 more blacks unemployed in 1980 (at 1.7 million) than there were at the peak of the 1974-74 recession (at 1.5 million). (See Tables 1 and 2)

Interestingly, black adults, especially females, were most severely impacted by the 1980 recession, while white adult females were least affected. Black adult women had the largest percentage increase (+23%) in the number of unemployed between 1975 and 1980 (from 500,000 to 613,000), while white adult women had the largest percentage decrease (-10%) in unemployment between the two recessions. These findings provide further support for the belief that the sharp increase in the labor force of white women may be displacing black workers, especially women and youth. But black female heads of household were the most severely impacted by the 1980 recession of all adult workers.

Moreover, while the number of jobless white adult men declined by 8% between 1975 and 1980, the number of unemployed black adult men rose by 11% (from 612,000 to 682,000). Similarly, while unemployment among black teenagers increased by 5% (from 347,000 to 364,000) between the two recessions, joblessness among white teenagers fell by 8%. Thus, overall white unemployment fell by 9% between 1975 and 1980, while black unemployment leaped by 14% over that five year period.

A major reason why blacks were more severely impacted by the 1980 recession than whites was because blacks had not fully recovered from the 1974-75 slump. In fact, the Black Pulse Survey (a nationwide survey of 3,000 black households conducted during the fall and winter of 1979 by the National Urban League and its local affiliates) revealed that joblessness among black household heads was at depression levels even prior to the 1980 recession. That survey revealed that the unemployment rate for black heads of household (even excluding discouraged workers) during the last quarter of 1979 was 15% -- twice their official unemployment rate (8%).[5]

Moreover, while official figures indicate that about 13% of all black workers were unemployed during 1980, the NUL Hidden Unemployment Index, which takes account of discouraged workers, puts the actual total black jobless rate at 25% in 1980. Thus, a minimum of one out of every four black workers are jobless today -- which is equal to the unemployment rate for the nation at the peak of the Great Depression in 1930's. It is clearly no exaggeration to assert that while the rest of the nation is in a recession, the black community is in the throes of a severe economic depression. Since they are still reeling from the effects of the 1980 recession, blacks will definitely suffer disproportionately in any impending recession in 1981.

A. BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

In addition to the alarmingly high jobless rates among black breadwinners, one of the most poignant aspects of black unemployment is the astronomical levels of joblessness among black youth. Even the U.S. Labor Department puts black teenage unemployment at about 40% throughout most of the 1970's. And, officially, the jobless rate (of 36%) for black teenagers in 1980 was about as high as it was (37%) in 1975. But both rates were at least double the jobless rates for white teenagers in 1975 (18%) and 1980 (16%). In addition, while there were officially 113,000 fewer unemployed white teenagers in 1980 than in 1975, there were 17,000 more jobless black teenagers between the two recessions. Clearly, the 1980 recession had a greater detrimental impact on black than white teenagers.

At this point, we usually proceed to point out that these official jobless figures for young people understate the actual level of joblessness because they fail to incorporate the "discouraged workers" -- those who want work but who have given up actively searching because they cannot find it. But, recent findings from two national surveys: the NUL Black Pulse and the Labor Department - funded National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) raise some serious concerns about the accuracy of the official jobless figures -- even allowing for the exclusion of discouraged workers.

As was noted in the preceding section, the NUL Black Pulse Survey (which was based on door-to-door interviews with only household heads) found that their jobless rates were twice (15%) as high as the official rates (8%) -- excluding discouraged workers. Similarly, the NLS (which is a continuing national follow-up survey of youth conducted since the late 1960's), revealed that the official Current Population Survey (CPS) understates the actual labor force participation of all youth, but especially that of blacks and females. Ohio State University researchers found that the labor force participation rate for black youth 16-21 years old was about 19 percentage points higher in the NLS than in the CPS and that the rate of unemployment among black youth was about 11 percentage points higher in the NLS than in the CPS. And, most significantly, the researchers found that the number of unemployed black youth in the NLS was about double the number in the CPS -- even excluding discouraged workers.[6]

The Ohio State University researchers explain this discrepancy between the two national surveys by indicating that the labor force figures for youth in the NLS are based solely on direct face-to-face interviews with young people while the official CPS figures for youth are most often based on reports from a household head or some other adult in the household. The young people themselves are rarely interviewed in the governmental labor force surveys.

But the findings from the NUL Black Pulse Survey -- which was based solely on interviews with household heads -- strongly suggest that some of the inaccuracy in the government jobless figures may also be due to the fact that increasing numbers of interviews in the monthly CPS are being conducted over the telephone and with adults other than the household heads. Thus, the findings from the Black Pulse and NLS surveys lend strong support to the concern expressed by the National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics in its final report to the President regarding the degree of inaccuracy in labor force statistics that may be due to: (a) increasing use of telephone rather than personal interviews and (b) use of proxy rather than self-respondents in the government's Current Population Surveys.[7]

Of course, in addition to the use of substitute respondents and telephone interviews as sources of error in governmental labor force figures, we consider the failure to incorporate "discouraged workers" to be the most serious deficiency. Several research analyses have revealed that a sizable number of persons not "actively" seeking work, want a job and are immediately available to work if one were found. Unfortunately, such persons are officially considered to be "discouraged," but not "unemployed." Since black youth have the greatest difficulty finding jobs, they tend to be overrepresented among the discouraged workers.[8]

However, when discouraged workers are incorporated in the unemployment figures, the unemployment rate of black youth increases by at least 50% while the number of unemployed black youth increases by more than 100%. In 1980, for example, the official jobless rate for black teenagers was 36%, while the official number of unemployed black teenagers was about 364,000. But the NUL Hidden Unemployment Index placed the actual jobless rate for black teenagers at 59% in 1980 and the actual number of unemployed black teenagers at more than double (about 800,000) the official level. It is also important to point out that while 59% of black teenagers may be unemployed as a national average, in specific inner-city areas the actual jobless rates for black youth may be closer to 80%-90%. Thus, we are indeed having generations of young people who may not have had an opportunity to hold even one regular job before reaching adulthood. And, if the experience of their parents is any indication, there is no guarantee that they will secure stable employment as adults either.

IV. REASONS FOR BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT

What are the primary reasons for the depression-level unemployment among blacks? A number of factors have been offered as explanations: the exodus of industry to the suburbs, low educational levels, lack of job skills, unwillingness to take menial jobs, displacement, the minimum wage, periodic recessions and last, but not least, discrimination. We will now briefly consider the merits of each of these as causes of black joblessness.[9]

While there is no question but that there has been a significant exodus of industries from the central cities to the suburbs, the data have yet to reveal that black joblessness is lower in the area to which these industries have moved than in the areas they have left. For example, the unemployment rate for black teenagers living in central cities (of 51%) in 1977 was not significantly different from the jobless rate for black teenagers living in the suburbs (of 48%).

No one can seriously challenge the assertion that many black youth are not receiving quality education in the public schools. But it takes more than an assertion to document that the high levels of unemployment for black youth are primarily due to poor education or low educational attainment. If this were the case, then how does one account for the disproportionately high joblessness among black youth with high educational attainment?

U.S. Labor Department data have consistently revealed: (1) that black college graduates have jobless rates that are three to four times higher than those of white college graduates; and (2) that white high school dropouts have lower jobless rates than blacks who have gone to college! For example, white high school dropouts 16-24 years old, had lower unemployment rates (16.7%) in 1977 than black youth with some college education (21.4%) and about the same jobless rates (16.5%) as black college graduates. It is difficult to argue that white high school dropouts have better chances of obtaining jobs than college-educated black youth because the former are better educated.[10]

Moreover, contrary to popular belief, the overwhelming majority of black youth in the labor force are not dropouts, but are high school graduates or college-educated. Seventy-one percent of all black youth, 16-24, who were in the labor force and not in school in 1977, had either graduated from high school (54%) or had gone to college (17%).[11] Obviously, one should not equate educational attainment with quality of education, since many black high school graduates are reading at 6th and 7th grade levels -- or lower. But the essential point is that the educational deficiencies of a minority of black young people should not be generalized to most black youth. Many of them have the proper education and skills and only need a job or on-the-job training. Others may need more intensive skill development and off-the-job training.

It is rarely noted that thousands of black youth have gone through years of employment training programs and specialized post-secondary technical schools without obtaining employment commensurate with their new job skills. This is especially the case with regard to hundreds of minority youth who have completed years of apprenticeships in the construction trades and have not secured stable -- or sometimes any -- employment in their fields of training. As a consequence, increasing numbers of blacks have become disillusioned with training programs that provide only "learning without earnings."

Moreover, while there is a vital need for black youth to enhance their job skills, we should also be mindful of the fact that many new jobs created by modern technology do not require highly complex training and skills. In fact as Newman, et. al, aptly note, some of these jobs require less skill rather than more:

> Whatever the job sphere, technological advances have generally resulted in the need for less skill rather than more...
>
> As early as 1966, studies prepared by the U.S. National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress showed that, while the technological change created many new types of jobs, most of the new jobs had low skill requirements...
>
> Bookkeepers have been converted into machine operators. Bank tellers have become, in part, keypunch operators. The use of precomputed material is increasing as well, making jobs more routine and clerical.[12]

Thus, contrary to popular belief, many of the new jobs being created do not require highly complex skills. Many minority youth could easily acquire the necessary skills through on-the-job training.

B. UNWILLINGNESS TO WORK

Another reason often cited by many employers for not hiring black youth is their inflated, unrealistic expectations about the wages they will work for and unwillingness to take low-paying jobs. In fact, this is often the justification that many businessmen use to recruit undocumented and other foreign workers. Such beliefs are strongly contradicted by the long lines of black applicants that occur in city after city when openings for even the lowest level jobs are announced. One of the most dramatic examples of such occurrences was in September, 1980 when about 15,000 unemployed blacks in Baltimore, Maryland applied for 70 unskilled temporary jobs at the lowest federal pay scale.

Moreover, most systematic research studies of the work orientation of black youth do not reveal any significant unwillingness to accept low-paying jobs. In fact, this notion was strongly refuted by a recent in-depth study of youth attitudes in the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS). This study asked white, black and Hispanic youth whether they would be willing to work at various wage levels (i.e., \$2.50, \$3.50 and \$5.00 per hr.) in each of five types of jobs most available to young people (i.e. factory work, in a supermarket, in a hamburger place, in a cleaning establishment, washing dishes and away from home in a forest or park.)[13]

In every work category, black youths were more willing to work at lower paying jobs than either Hispanic or white youths. For example, one-third (34%) of black youth were willing to wash dishes at \$2.50 an hour, compared to 24% of Hispanic and 19% of white youth. Similarly, almost half (44%) of black youth were willing to work at a hamburger place at \$2.50 an hour, compared to 33% of Hispanic and 28% of white youth. These findings indicate that it is white, not black youth who are least willing to accept lower paying jobs. And if willingness to work at low-paying jobs was the primary determinant for hiring young people, then blacks should have the lowest unemployment rates of all youth.[14]

C. JOB COMPETITION

A number of research studies are beginning to examine the extent to which black unemployment may be due to job displacement as a result of increasing competition from emerging groups, such as white women, Hispanics and Asians. Paul Osterman in a study for the National Committee on Employment Policy contends that because of the dual labor market phenomenon, black youth are forced to compete with women and immigrants for many lower paying, less attractive jobs. Moreover, his analysis of employment patterns between 1970 and 1980 revealed a strong negative relationship between increases in the labor force participation of adult women and decreases in employment for black, but not white youth.[15]

A more recent analysis of employment patterns by the National Urban League Research Department revealed that blacks, Hispanics and Asians were less likely than whites to secure their proportionate share of new jobs. For example, while blacks accounted for 15% of the increase in the total U.S. working-age population between 1975-80, they obtained only 10% of the 12.5 million new jobs over that period. Similarly, while Hispanics made up 15% of the growth in the total working-age population between 1975-80, they got only 11% of the new jobs. On the other hand, whites obtained three-fourths (74%) of the new jobs over the last five years, although they accounted for only 64% of the growth in the working-age population. And white women secured over half of the new jobs, while comprising only one-third of the increase in the working-age population.[16] (See Table 3)

It is important to point out, however, that neither the NUL nor the Osterman study "proves" that white women are displacing blacks or any other minorities from jobs. Much more refined and systematic analyses would be needed to even approximate such causal patterns. Nevertheless, the issue of job competition with emerging groups is real and will heighten in significance as the size of these groups increases and the number of jobs that are available decreases. For, while the increase of white women in the labor force is expected to slow down during the 1980's, the number of Hispanics and Asians in the labor force is expected to continue to sharply increase.

D. IMPACT OF IMPORT POLICIES

A factor that has had a major impact on job displacement among blacks, but is not often cited as a key cause of black unemployment is governmental import policies. For example, a major contributor to the rising unemployment among black women has been the devastating effect that imports have had on the apparel industry -- where black women have traditionally been overrepresented. And the extensive and unrelenting jobs losses due to imports in the auto and steel industries -- where black men are highly-represented -- is common knowledge.

Several in-depth studies sponsored by the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) have revealed that the industries that have been most negatively affected by imports have a higher representation of blacks than those industries that have been most positively affected by trade policies. While blacks comprised only 7% of the work force in the 20 manufacturing industries that gained the largest number of jobs due to exports between 1964-75, blacks accounted for 11% of the work force in the 20 manufacturing industries that lost the largest number of jobs due to imports. Another study estimated that while blacks gained 229,000 jobs through exports in 1970, they lost 287,000 jobs because of imports -- for a net loss of 58,000 jobs. It is clear that U.S. trade policies play a significant role with regard to black employment and economic development opportunities and will have to be studied and monitored much more intensively by the black community.[17]

E. IMPACT OF MINIMUM WAGE

The federal minimum wage is increasingly cited as a major reason for the high unemployment rates among young people in general and black youth, in particular. Opponents of the minimum wage contend that if a sub-minimum differential for youth were enacted, employment opportunities for black youth would significantly increase. Sen. Orrin Hatch (Rep.-Utah), the new chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, recently announced that he may introduce a bill that would authorize workers 16-19 years old to be paid 75% of the minimum wage for some specified period (such as six months). However, before any new bill proposing a youth differential is drafted, these important facts should be carefully considered:

1. That the majority of teenagers in the labor force are already working at jobs paying less than the minimum wage;
2. That a legal sub-minimum differential for young unskilled workers has been in existence since 1938;
3. That the overwhelming majority of firms have not even used the existing differential to hire more youths, and
4. That if the existing differential were expanded, white, and not black youth would be the main beneficiaries.

First of all, it is not true that the majority of working young people, 16-19 years old, today are being paid at or above the federal minimum wage, which is currently $3.10/hr. and rises to $3.35/hr. on January 1, 1981. A study by the Work in America research organization found that the majority of youth employed in urban areas in 1979 held jobs that were paying less than the minimum wage. Similarly, data from the National Longitudinal Survey reveal that the majority of teenage youth are receiving wages below the minimum wage. Thus, the overwhelming majority of firms and institutions that hire teenagers are already paying them less than the minimum wage.[18]

Secondly, a sub-minimum differential for unskilled youth was enacted as part of the original minimum wage legislation in 1938, specifically permitting "learners" to be paid at 85% of the minimum wage at that time. In 1940, this was broadened to include "student-learners," which was subsequently expanded to include "student-workers," "apprentices," "messengers," and "full-time students." By 1962, retail trade and service establishments were permitted to pay full-time students sub-minimum wages. Currently, retail and service establishments with annual sales under $325,000 are exempt from the minimum wage. Thus, about 63% of all retail trade and 85% of all service establishments with paid employees can legally pay young people a sub-minimum wage today. This leads to the question of to what extent have these firms taken advantage of that exemption?[19]

Surprisingly, there have been few systematic studies of the actual utilization patterns by firms of the existing sub-minimum differential for youth. According to U.S. Labor Department data, there are about 3.9 million workers today who are legally exempted from the minimum wage -- and they are overwhelmingly young people. About 2 million are non-farm workers, 600,000 are domestic workers, 575,000 are farm workers and 800,000 are handicapped or trainees. Among the non-farm workers, 512,000 are youth working in high schools and colleges; 279,000 are workers in other institutions, such as hospitals, and 231,000 are youth working in retail and service establishments.[20]

During FY 1979, the Labor Department authorized a total of 35,517 exemption certificates that permitted a maximum hiring of 517,303 persons at sub-minimum wages. The bulk of these exemptions applied to the hiring of full-time students. Since a total of 8 million young people 16-19 years old were employed in 1979, it is evident that, even if the authorized certificates were fully utilized, only a small fraction of teenagers was employed as a result of the exemption certificates.[21]

But an in-depth Labor Department study of utilization patterns of the sub-minimum wage differential revealed that the majority of the firms that received exemption certificates failed to use most of the man-hours that they were authorized.

This study found that over half (56%) of the 4,615 firms that received certificates to hire full-time students at the sub-minimum wage in 1970 either used less than half (34%) of their authorization or did not use the exemption certificates at all (21%). Only 13% of the firms used 90% or more of the man-hours they were permitted. Or, three-fifth (58%) of the 36 million man-hours that were authorized were not used at all.[22]

What reasons did these firms give for their failure to even moderately use the sub-minimum exemptions they had requested? The overwhelming reason given by 52% of the firms was that they were fully staffed and found that they could not accommodate as many young people as they originally expected. About one-fifth indicated they could not fill their quotas because they could not find young people who were willing to work at these wages or that they were not satisfied with the youth they hired and had to let them go. Another one-fifth of the firms said that record-keeping and certificate restrictions hindered them from hiring more youth.[23]

It should now be evident that no new legislation to enact a sub-minimum wage for youth should be proposed until a thorough study has been made of the strengths and weaknesses of the differential that currently exists.

Finally, while most advocates of a youth differential usually justify it on the basis of a presumed sharp increase in employment for minority youth, careful analyses do not support such a contention. On the contrary, an examination of the characteristics of workers paid in violation of the federal minimum wage strongly suggests that black adults and black youth especially, would have the most to lose from an expanded youth differential.

A U.S. Labor Department study of illegally paid sub-minimum wage workers during 1969-70 revealed that, while white sub-minimum wage workers tended to be youth and secondary wage earners, black sub-minimum wage workers were more likely to be adults who were primary wage earners. While only one-third (35%) of white sub-minimum wage workers were primary earners, over half (56%) of black illegally paid sub-minimum wage workers were primary breadwinners. And only one-fifth (18%) of the black workers were under 19 years old, compared to two-fifths (37%) of the white sub-minimum wage workers.[24]

Thus, an expanded youth differential would more likely substitute white youth for black adults, especially those who are currently being illegally paid sub-minimum wages. Of course, many black adults who are primary wage earners of families would probably opt to continue to receive illegal sub-minimum wages rather than have no job at all. There is no evidence to indicate that black youth would be hired in any significant numbers if a new sub-minimum differential were enacted, since white youth are being hired disproportionately under the existing differential.

Another important consideration in this debate is the extent to which a broader youth differential will result in more government intervention. As Herrington Bryce, President, National Policy Institute, argues, any two-tier youth differential will require much more, and not less, government regulation and staff for monitoring and enforcement.

In sum, there is no persuasive evidence that a new sub-minimum youth differential should be enacted, when: (a) the majority of teenagers are already being paid below the minimum wage; (b) a legal sub-minimum differential already exists; (c) the majority of businesses are not even taking advantage of the existing youth differential; and (d) black youth would be the least beneficiary from a broader differential. These facts strongly suggest that many of the proponents of a youth sub-minimum wage may be less interested in hiring more teenagers (whether black or white) and may be more interested in eliminating, or severely undermining, the minimum wage for adults!

F. DISCRIMINATION

To what extent does racial discrimination contribute to the persistently high unemployment levels in the black community? Several factors impede a systematic assessment of the significance of discrimination.

The first is conceptual, and involves the failure to adequately distinguish three key dimensions of discrimination: beliefs, behavior and consequences. "Discriminatory beliefs" refer to prejudicial attitudes, values or stereotypes that individuals have about members of other ethnic groups. "Discriminatory behavior" refers to different treatment of ethnic groups that is intended, while "discriminatory consequences" refer to different treatment of ethnic groups that is unintended.

Failure to keep these three components of discrimination distinct has contributed to much confusion about the significance of racial discrimination today. Some commentators contend that discrimination contributes very little to black unemployment today, since national polls reveal that only a small minority of Americans now hold prejudicial beliefs or stereotypes about blacks. Other observers, however, argue that discrimination is still a major factor in black joblessness because of persistent and widening racial differentials -- regardless of whether or not they were intended. They contend that any actions or policies that have racially different consequences or effects are "discriminatory" -- even if unintended.

The second impediment is methodological. It refers to the widespread tacit assumption among most researchers that racial discrimination only "explains" or "causes" the residual differences that remain after one has controlled for key "non-racial" factors, such as education, income, place of residence, etc. But these investigators fail to assess the extent to which many of these so-called "non-racial" factors are themselves racially-determined. For example, it is common for analysts to assert that inferior education and not racial bias is the primary "cause" of black youth unemployment. Yet these same researchers fail to also determine the extent to which inferior education, itself, may be caused by racially discriminatory access to quality educational facilities. In short, researchers must also assess the "interactive" effects of discrimination in their casual analysis of racial differences.

Interestingly, the overwhelming majority of the research papers that were commissioned for the Vice-President's Task Force on Youth Employment agreed that discrimination was still a significant factor in the high unemployment levels among black youth. And numerous other research studies of black unemployment have reached similar conclusions.[25]

V. OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Although one-fourth of all black workers cannot obtain work, it should be noted that the other three-fourths do have jobs. What have been the employment patterns for blacks in recent years and how much occupational mobility has occurred?

Between 1975-80, the number of employed blacks increased by 1.3 million (from 7.8 to 9.1 million) or by 17%. Some of the biggest gains in black employment were in higher-status occupations. The largest increase (42%) occurred among blacks going into managerial and administrative jobs -- which rose by 120,000 (from 287,000 to 407,000) over that five-year period. Similarly, the number of blacks in professional positions rose by 26% or 255,000, so that by 1980, close to one million (983,000) blacks were in that high-ranking category. Interestingly, despite the devastating effect that the two recessions had on the construction industry, the number of blacks in craft positions increased by 197,000 (or 28%) to 890,000 in 1980. (See Table 4)

Consequently, the number of blacks entering the three highest-level occupations (i.e., professionals, managers, and craft) increased by 662,000 to 2.3 million in 1980. This growth in these higher-level jobs accounted for over half (51%) of the total 1.3 million new jobs obtained by blacks between 1975-1980. As a result of such shifts, the proportion of all blacks in these higher-level occupations shot up from 22% to 26% over that five-year period. At the same time, the proportion of blacks in lower-level positions (i.e., operatives, laborers, and service workers) fell from 61% to 53% between 1975-80.

These sharp increases of blacks in higher-level occupations are even more remarkable because they occurred in the midst of two devastating recessions. Clearly, affirmative action mandates must be given much of the credit for these impressive employment gains by blacks in a very unfavorable economic climate. In fact, even these data sharply understate the actual impact of affirmative action, since they only focus on shifts of blacks between broad occupational categories and not on movement within occupations. Thus, for example, these data do not reveal at all the number of blacks who were promoted within professional or managerial or sales, etc. occupations. However, the purpose of the analysis was only to show the degree of movement of blacks into and between occupational groupings and was not intended to be a systematic analysis of the precise impact that affirmative action had over the last five years.

VI. IMPACT ON JOBS PROGRAMS

How effective have government manpower programs been in enhancing employment opportunities for blacks? What have been their weaknesses and strengths? In order to make a systematic review of the impact of government employment and training programs, it is necessary to identify specific programs and describe the political and economic climate under which they operated.

One of today's most popular sweeping generalizations about jobs programs is that "the government jobs programs spawned by liberal Democrats in the 1960's have failed to work in the 1970's." The fact is that the major government manpower program in the 1970's was CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act), which was instituted by Nixon in place of the dismantled MDTA program. Consequently, if CETA was a failure, President Nixon is at fault, not President Johnson. This generalization -- which is rarely challenged -- best typifies the confusion and faulty conclusions that result when specific government programs are not identified.

When the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) was enacted in 1962 it was not designed to serve the economically or racially disadvantaged, but was intended to retrain adult workers who had been displaced by technological advances. However, by the time that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was enacted, the nation had fully recovered from the 1960-61 recession and was experiencing sharp economic growth and was able to absorb many of the displaced adult workers.

Because of the increasing emphasis on serving the poor and minorities, a number of new MDTA programs were established that were specifically targeted to inner-city youth -- the Neighborhood Youth Corp (NYC), The Job Corps, WIN, Apprenticeship Outreach Program (AOP), and Summer Youth Programs. But the primary training programs for unemployed and under-employed adults were the classroom institutional training and on-the-job training efforts. Follow-up studies showed that most enrollees benefitted from their training. They tended to have less unemployment and higher earnings than control groups that received no training. In general, however, black adults were more highly-represented in classroom rather than in on-the-job training programs. And OJT enrollees tended to have higher post-program earnings than classroom trainees.

Minority youth comprised a sizable proportion of enrollees in most of the special jobs programs for youth during the 1960's. For example, the proportion of black youth who were enrolled in the in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps efforts soared from 29% to 42%, while the proportion of black youth in out-of-school NYC programs held at 45% between 1965 and 1968. And by June 1968, black youth accounted for 59% of the 33,000 Job Corps enrollees.[26]

But what effect did these efforts have on black youth unemployment? Between 1963 and 1969, the jobless rate for black males, 16-19 years old, fell from 27% to 19%, while the jobless rate for black females, 16-19 years old, dropped from 32% to 26%. At the same time, the number of black teenagers with jobs jumped by 36% (from 441,000 to 609,000) -- almost as much as the increase (44%) in the number of white teenagers who got jobs between 1963-69. Apparently, this was the last time in over a decade that black youth had such favorable employment patterns.

But youth were not the only blacks to experience significant economic progress during the 1960's. All groups of blacks made strong economic gains.

For example, the unemployment rates for all blacks plummuted from 10.8% to 6.4%, bringing the number of jobless blacks down from 864,000 to 570,000 -- the lowest level for blacks in over two decades. At about the same time (from 1964 to 1969), the ratio of black-to-white family income narrowed from 54% to 61% -- the smallest gap since income data by race were first collected by the Census Bureau. Similarly, by 1969, the number of poor black families fell to 1,366,000 -- its lowest level in recent times.

Obviously one cannot attribute all of the economic gains of blacks during the 1960's to the MDTA job programs, since these achievements occurred during a period of significant economic growth, job expansion and civil rights demonstrations and protests. Nevertheless, the importance the Johnson administration attached to targeting employment and training programs to inner-city areas contributed significantly to the overall economic progress of blacks during the second half of the 1960's.

What happened in the 70's to erode the strong economic gains of blacks during the 60's? Two devastating recessions (1969-71 and 1974-75) and two-digit inflation were the major economic forces that severely undermined the economic status of blacks during the 1970's. But the primary political obstacle to the progress of blacks and other low-income groups was the ascent of Richard Nixon to the Presidency and his decentralization of government through "New Federalism."

The goal of Nixon's "New Federalism" was to shift to state and local governments the primary responsibility for planning and administering a wide range of social and economic programs with little federal interference. This was accomplished by transforming most of the categorical programs of the 60's into "revenue-sharing" type block grants that were distributed by politically-derived formulas to localities across this nation regardless of their needs. Thus, in addition to the General Revenue Sharing Program that was established in October, 1972, the Nixon Administration created several block grant programs: Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) in housing, Title XX in Social Services, LEAA in law enforcement, CETA in employment, and other programs for localities to use with a minimum of federal direction.

Consequently, when the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was enacted in 1973, funds were distributed according to a "revenue-sharing" type formula to numerous counties and suburban areas with relatively low levels of unemployment and poverty. As might be expected, the proportions of minorities and other disadvantaged groups served were much less under the decentralized CETA programs than under the previous categorical MDTA jobs programs. In fact, a high-level National Academy of Sciences panel that was set up to conduct an in-depth evaluation of CETA concluded:

> There has been a weakening of the commitment to the disadvantaged in Title I programs. The principal reasons for the change includes: the broader eligibility criteria under CETA legislation as compared with pre-CETA requirements, the spread of resources into suburban areas with lower proportions of disadvantaged persons...

> The proportion of disadvantaged persons in the Public Service Employment programs (Tities II and VI) has been markedly lower than in the Title I programs to develop employability.[27]

Moreover, under CETA, blacks still tended to be more highly-represented in classroom training programs than in employment or work experience programs (such as on-the-job training or public service employment). According to the Labor Department's Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS) of new CETA enrollees during fiscal year 1977 (i.e. October 1976 - September 1977), blacks accounted for one-third (32%) of the participants in classroom training programs, but made up only one-fifth (19%) of the on-the-job training enrollees.[28] Since 1977, however, stringent efforts have been made by the Labor Department to tighten CETA eligibility criteria in order to target more of these programs to the structurally unemployed. Thus, the proportion of minorities and disadvantaged persons served under CETA has improved somewhat in recent years.

But the fact remains that CETA is still fundamentally a "revenue-sharing" manpower program that distributes funds by formula to many areas with low levels of unemployment and poverty. Evaluations of the other block grant programs (such as CDBG, Title II and LEAA) also revealed that sizable numbers of minorities, the poor and other disadvantaged groups were not being reached or adequately served by these programs, since a sizable portion of the funds were distributed to areas that had little need for them. Moreover, these studies have consistently shown that the poor and disadvantaged are more effectively reached by federally-administered programs than by decentralized state and local "revenue-sharing" block grant programs.[29]

It is important to underscore these defects in the current block grant programs since Reagan has indicated a preference for expanding such grants to the areas of welfare and education. If the Reagan Administration is successful in enacting such block grants for state and local governments "with no strings attached," past and current experience clearly indicates that the needs of minorities and other low-income groups will be significantly neglected.

Not only should Mr. Reagan not attempt to develop block grant programs in the areas of welfare and education, but while retaining the vitally-needed general revenue-sharing program for localities, he should remove the "revenue-sharing" component from the current block grant programs to insure that funds are more effectively targeted to localities that clearly demonstrate a need for them. In a time of increasing scarity of resources, this nation can no longer afford the luxury of "revenue-sharing" block grants that arbitrarily distribute funds to areas based more on political, rather than economic, necessity. More effective targeting of such programs as CETA, CDBG and Title XX would significantly enhance the cost effectiveness of these efforts. This can only be accomplished, however, through vigorous leadership from the federal government.

G. IMPACT OF TAX AND WAGE SUBSIDIES

Reagan has also indicated a strong interest in shifting the primary role for training and hiring the structurally unemployed from the public to the private sector through tax incentives and wage subsidies. How effective have such subsidies been in the past in enhancing job opportunities for the long-term unemployed?

One of the earliest efforts at subsidizing the wages of disadvantaged workers in the private sector was the MDTA on-the-job training programs established in the late 1960's. And the Jobs Opportunities in the Business

Sector (JOBS) program which was set up by the National Alliance of Businesses in 1968 was one of the first nationwide OJT efforts directed by the private sector.[30]

Thousands of structurally unemployed workers benefitted from these efforts. For example, while well over 80,000 disadvantaged workers were hired under NAB-JOBS contracts through January 1970, an additional 300,000 were provided training and jobs by firms independent of NAB-JOBS, without any federal wage subsidies.[31]

Partly because of the extensive paperwork involved in OJT contracts, increased emphasis was placed on tax credits during the 1970's as incentives to the private sector to hire the structurally unemployed. One of the first efforts was the WIN tax credit established in 1971 to encourage firms to hire welfare recipients enrolled in the WIN program. It was later amended to include welfare recipients not enrolled in WIN. Prior to 1978, employers could receive a tax credit equal to 20% of the wages earned during the first year of employment of AFDC recipients or WIN placements.

In 1977, the New Jobs Tax Credit (NJTC) was established to increase overall employment at lower wage levels and thus was not targeted to disadvantaged workers. It provided growing firms with credits equal to 50% of a new worker's first $4,200 of earnings.

In general, experience with both the WIN and NJTC has been disappointing. From FY 1973-FY 1975 over half a million WIN program enrollees obtained jobs, bringing with them a potential tax credit for their employers. Yet, only about 15% of them were reported by their employers on their tax returns in order to receive the WIN tax credit. Similarly, the NJTC has been widely regarded as ineffective. This is partly due to a limit of $100,000 tax credits per firm, which makes it quite unattractive to large companies. Although sizable numbers of firms were not knowledgeable about either tax credit, many were discouraged by the paperwork that was involved and felt that the subsidies were too low.[32]

Thus, the new Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC) was enacted in 1978 to replace the NJTC and to provide more attractive incentives for employers to hire disadvantaged or handicapped workers than its predecessors. The TJTC provides credits of 50% of the worker's wages up to a ceiling of $6,000 in the first year and to 25% of this wage in the second year. The Labor Department estimates that about 100,000 persons will be hired during FY '80 as a result of this credit.

Which is more preferable to industry -- wage subsidies or tax credits? Surveys of employer attitudes reveal that large firms tend to prefer tax credits as inducements to hiring the structurally unemployed, while small firms prefer direct wage subsidies. Small firms prefer the wage subsidy reimbursement because it significantly helps immediate cash flow and training can be done on a one-on-one basis. Large firms feel that the complex contractual, record-keeping and auditing procedures in an OJT-contract more than offsets the incentives of wage subsidies. Since tax credits are part of the regular tax process, they feel that less paperwork is required.[33]

On the other hand, as a study by the industry-sponsored Committee for Economic Development (CED) observes, tax credits can have a number of disadvantages when compared to wage subsidies:

> It would be more difficult to prevent manipulation of the tax incentive for the advantage of unscrupulous employers. For example, some plans would incorporate a type of tax subsidy which would encourage employers to induce turnover after initial periods of employment in order to qualify for higher tax credits...
>
> The largest tax subsidies would go to employers who incur the smallest training costs relative to wages, and the smallest incentives to employers whose training costs are highest relative to wages. Workers who need the most training help per dollar of wages would be least likely to receive help and would be least likely to be hired.[34]

The obvious appeal of tax credits is that, unlike wage subsidies, their impact on total expenditures is less apparent to Congress and the general public because they do not appear as a line item in the federal budget. Yet, these credits are responsible for millions of dollars in lost revenue for which the government has a responsibility to insure has been used for their intended objective of enhancing job opportunities for the structurally unemployed. Great vigilance in this area will be required by the incoming Reagan Administration.

VII. BLACK INCOME PATTERNS

Now that we have described the unemployment and employment trends in the black community and the role of various government strategies to enhance job opportunities for blacks, we will now examine income patterns among blacks and the effectiveness of government income support programs.

As a result of the disproportionate impact of two recessions and record-level inflation on blacks during the 70's, the number of poor blacks rose sharply over the decade, while the number of poor whites declined. For example, while the number of poor white families fell by 2% (from 3.6 to 3.5 million) between 1969 and 1979, the number of poor black families soared by 22% (from 1.4 to 1.7 million). Similarly, while the number of poor white individuals remained relatively unchanged (at 16.7 million) over that ten year period, the number of poor black individuals jumped by 11% (from 7.1 to 7.8 million).

This disproportionate increase in poverty among blacks led predictably to a widening of the income gap between blacks and whites. In 1970, blacks had 61% of the income of white families, but by the end of the decade blacks had only 57% of the income of white families.

Many commentators attempt to account for this widening income gap on the basis of the disproportionate increase in female-headed families among blacks. But, toward the end of the decade, the gap between blacks and whites widened among two-parent families! For example, while the black-to-white family income ratio remained unchanged at 59% among female-headed families between 1978 and 1979, the income ratio anong husband-wife families fell sharply from 81% to 78% during that year. (See Table 5)

The income gap between blacks and whites widened in every region during the 70's. The sharpest declines in the black-to-white income ratio occurred in the Northeast (from 71% to 58%) and in the West (from 77% to 62%) between 1970 and 1979, while the ratio fell from 73% to 63% in the North Central region and from 57% to 56% in the South. Thus, the relative economic position of blacks to whites became more similar among all regions and has moved significantly closer to the black/white income gap that existed in the South ten years ago.

The primary reason for the widening income gap between black and white families has been the steady decline in multiple-earners in black families, while multiple-earners in white families have increased. Between 1970 and 1979, the proportion of black families with two or more earners fell from 54% to 47%, while the proportion of white families with two or more earners rose from 53% to 57%. Of course, this was due to the sharper increase of working wives in white than black families.

But this decline in multiple earners in black families is primarily due to the disproportionate increase in families headed by unemployed black women. Despite their higher educational and occupational levels, black women heading families today are three times more likely to be unemployed (15.4%) than were black female household heads a decade ago (5.6%).

Families headed by black women are primarily poor, not because they do not have husbands, but because they do not have jobs. While 75% of unemployed black women heading families were poor in 1977, only one-fourth (27%) of employed black women heading families were poor. Thus, providing female family heads with meaningful job opportunities would prevent thousands of these families from falling into poverty.

H. IMPACT ON INFLATION

How has inflation affected the economic status of black families? Between 1970 and 1979, the median income among black families rose by $5,330 (from $6,279 to $11,609), while the median income of white families rose by $10,209 (from $10,236 to $20,438). But after adjusting for inflation white family real income still showed a gain of $1,304, while black real income fell behind inflation by $128. Or, while black families headed by women failed to keep up with inflation (-$90), black husband-wife families kept ahead of inflation by $2,332 between 1970 and 1979. (See Table 6)

Another useful measure for assessing the impact of inflation on black and white family income is to examine the change in the proportion of middle-income and upper-income families above the Bureau of Labor Statistics standard budgets for urban families. The BLS has three standard budget levels -- higher, intermediate and lower -- that it adjusts for inflation to describe various living standards for families. Its intermediate level (which was $20,517 in 1979) is most often considered to be the standard of living for the "typical" middle-income American family, while its higher level (which was $30,317 in 1979) is considered the upper middle-income American family. The National Urban League Research Department classifies all families with incomes above the BLS intermediate standards as economically "middle-class" families.

Throughout most of the 1970's the proportion of "middle-class" black families fluctuated between 23% and 25%, but it ended at 26% by 1979. At the same time, the proportion of white middle-class families fluctuated between 46% to 49% and rose by 50% by the end of the decade. Thus, the proportion of middle-class families among whites increased by three percentage points (from 47% to 50%) between 1970 and 1979, while middle-class black families rose by two percentage points (from 24% to 26%). In short, the proportion of economically "middle-class" families is not significantly different among blacks (one-fourth) nor whites (one-half) today than it was a decade ago -- due to the unrelenting effects of recession and inflation. (See Table 7)

It is widely believed that the size of low-income or "underclass" black families has been steadily increasing. To what extent has this occurred over the past decade? As we noted at the outset of this section, if we take the number of black families below the official poverty level as our measure, then it is quite true that the size of the black underclass has significantly increased over the past decade. There were 300,000 more poor black families and 745,000 more poor black individuals at the end of the decade than at the beginning.

But most analysts fail to point out that the number of non-poor black families increased just as fast as the number of poor families, while the number of non-poor black individuals rose somewhat faster than the number of poor black persons during the 1970's. As a result, the proportion of all black families that were poor remained unchanged at 28% between 1969 and 1979, while the proportion of all black individuals who were poor decreased slightly from 32% to 31%. Thus, the number of "underclass" black families and persons has increased over the past decade, while their proportion has remained the same.

Consequently, these findings do not support the popular notion of a widening economic cleavage in the black community. For, just as the proportion of middle-class black families remained relatively unchanged (at one-fourth) over the past decade, so did the proportion of poor black families (at 28%).[35]

Moreover, it is important to realize that the income patterns that we have just described are all based on the U.S. Census Bureau's annual Current Population Survey (CPS), which is seriously deficient and misleading in at least two fundamental aspects.

The first is that individuals and families with annual incomes of $100,000 or more are coded by the Census Bureau as having incomes of $99,999! Thus, corporate executives, etc. with annual incomes of $300,000 or more are recorded as having incomes below $100,000. Since whites are clearly over-represented among such high-income individuals and families, the actual income gap between blacks and whites is significantly wider than these data reveal.

Secondly, the Census Bureau's income data fail to incorporate such measures of wealth as business equity, farm equity, real estate equity, stocks, bonds and other assets. Since whites are clearly more likely than blacks to have such assets, it is obvious that the "wealth gap" between blacks is several times larger than the "income gap." Most economists estimate that the current value of assets held by blacks is definitely less than two percent of the national total.[36]

I. INCOME SUPPORTS

Because periodic recessions and double-digit inflation have resulted in extensive unemployment and poverty in the black community, how effective have governmental programs been in providing income supports to the poor and jobless among blacks?

Since the 1960's there has been a steady increase in the number of cash and in-kind assistance programs for the poor. In addition to Aid to Families with Department Children (AFDC) which was established in 1935, the newer programs for the poor and jobless include: AFDC-Unemployed Father Program, food stamps, food commodity, free or reduced school lunches, free breakfasts, public housing, rent subsidies, day care, Medicaid and Supplemental Security Income (SSI).

Income assistance programs for the poor comprise about one-fourth of the total government income transfer outlays. The remaining three-fourths go to defray social insurance benefits, such as social security, medicare, federal retirement and veterans benefits.

In most of the governmental income assistance programs for the poor, blacks are represented in close approximation to their representation among the poor and long-term unemployed. Thus, thousands of black individuals and families in need have received vital support and benefits from these programs.

At the same time, it is equally important to emphasize that: (1) the overwhelming majority of the recipients of most of these income support programs are white, not black and (2) that the overwhelming majority of low-income blacks do not receive benefits from most of the income transfer programs for the poor.

According to the NUL Black Pulse Survey, (which is based on a nationwide sample of 3,000 black households in the fall and winter of 1979), the majority of unemployed and low-income blacks did not receive the income supports that are "universally" available to the poor:

a. Seventy percent of all unemployed blacks never receive any unemployment benefits.

b. Over half (56%) of all poor black households receive no AFDC or General Assistance (GA).

c. Half of all black welfare households receive no Medicaid coverage.

d. Three-fifths (58%) of all poor black households receive benefits from only two or less of the major seven income programs for the poor.[37]

A primary reason why most low-income black households were not being reached by these income support programs for the poor was because of conflicting, uncoordinated, insensitive and punitive state and county regulations. These findings underscore the vital need for more centralization of the administration of social welfare programs by the federal government if the needs of all the poor and jobless are to be effectively met.

VIII. BLACK BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

What is the current status of black businesses? How are they faring?

Based on the latest (1977) government survey of minority-owned businesses, there are about 231,000 black firms which comprise about 3% of all the establishments in the country. About two-thirds (68%) of the black firms are in retail trade or selected services. And, most alarming of all, is that only 17% (or 40,000) of all black firms have any paid employees and only 113 businesses have 100 or more employees. Yet that 17% accounts for 74% of all the gross receipts of black businesses and those 113 firms account for 16% of all gross receipts. In 1977, black businesses total aggregate receipts came to $8.7 billion dollars, which would only rank it as the 37th largest company in the U.S.[38]

A recent analysis by Andrew Brimmer, former Federal Reserve Board Governor, indicates that while the rate of growth in sales for black-owned firms is expanding, it appears to be lagging behind the general economy. In fact he estimates that between 1972 and 1980 the proportion of all business receipts from black firms will decline from .22% to .18%. Similarly, he estimates that the share of receipts from black firms to the total U.S. gross national product (GNP) will fall from .47% to .44%. But not only are black businesses getting a smaller share of the total U.S. receipts, Brimmer's analysis reveals that they are also getting a smaller share of income received and spent by the black community. For example, between 1969 and 1977, the proportion of receipts from black business to total black income fell from 13.5% to 9.9%. Brimmer predicts that it will probably decline to 8.9% by 1980.[39]

A major reason why black businesses have been lagging behind the total U.S. businesses over the past decade is because they have been disproportionately impacted by periodic recessions and soaring interest rates. The rising interest rates for commerical loans have particularly affected black businesses, since like all small businesses they have greater difficulty paying off loans at much higher interest rates than when they originally took out the loan.

The devastating effect of the 1974-75 recession on black businesses is reflected in the sharp declines in the following businesses between 1972 and 1977:

a. The number of auto dealerships and service stations fell by 24% -- from 6,597 to 5,002.

b. The number of hotels and other lodging facilities declined by 21% -- from 2,196 to 1,733.

c. The number of food and eating establishments fell by 10% -- from 26,000 to 24,000.

d. The number of intercity transporting firms fell by 9% -- from 8,881 to 8,088.

While data are not yet available on the impact of the 1980 recession on black businesses, per se, the disproportionate failures of small businesses that occurred in 1980 clearly suggest that black firms suffered even more. In fact, several analyses by the Wall Street Journal revealed that, "the 1980 recession appears to be hitting companies, especially weak ones, harder than the 1973-75 recession did."[40] Moreover, figures from Dun and Bradstreet indicated that:

> More than 5,500 companies, mostly small, have failed in this recession and at a rate more than 14% above the rate in the early part of the 1973-75 recession.[41]

If the Reagan Administration is committed to developing viable and competitive black business enterprises, more innovative strategies and more adequate resources will have to be employed.[42]

IX. JOB AND ENTERPRISE ZONES

Mr. Reagan has indicated that he is seriously considering the establishment of "job and enterprise zones" as a strategy for inducing business development in economically distressed areas. Such legislation has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) and Robert Garcia (D-N.Y.) and in the Senate by John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) and Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.)

This proposal would permit local governments to designate one or more areas within their jurisdictions as "job and enterprise zones." To be eligible each zone must have a population of at least 4,000 and meet certain unemployment and income criteria. It would allow a 50% reduction in employer and employee Social Security taxes for all persons working in the zone. This reduction would be increased to 90% for employees less than 21 years of age. Firms that employ 50% of their workers from within a zone would be given a 15% reduction in corporate income tax rates.

Because of its many innovative features, the Kemp-Garcia bill has generated much debate and many critical analyses. Some of the concerns that have been raised about this proposal are as follows:

a. The additional tax subsidies for investments in machinery (cuts in capital gains taxes, elimination of property taxes and faster depreciation) may more than offset the tax incentives for generating jobs for unemployed people.[43]

b It is not made clear whether some loan guarantee or insurance program would be part of the incentives available to investors in these zones.[44]

c. The proposal indicated that it would use the Economic Development Administration's classifications of economically distressed areas. But no less than 84% of the nation is eligible for this aid. Such widespread eligibility for the location of enterprise zones would undermine the tax incentives to invest in older, distressed areas.[45]

d. There are no existing annual unemployment and income data for geographic areas as small as 4,000 -- about the size of a census tract. The only demographic data would come from the census every ten years; yet the bill stipulates, the average unemployment data over the last two years are needed to determine the eligibility of a zone. Regular unemployment data are only available for SMSA's and large cities. No periodic jobless data exist for areas within cities.[46]

e. Because of the proposal's local property tax features, the most fiscally distressed local jurisdictions may be least able to afford to take advantage of the programs.[47]

The enterprise jobs zones concept appears to have many promising possibilities. But we feel that the following considerations would strengthen its effectiveness in stimulating economic and job development activities that would significantly enhance the economic well-being of minority residents in those areas:

1. It should be designed to reinforce and strengthen already-existing effective economic development efforts in economically distressed areas through CDBG, UDAG, and EDA grants, etc.

2. It should not attempt to create zones as small as census tracts, since this might result in countless "zones" in one city that might operate at cross-purposes with one another. It would be more advisable to have an entire central city as a "zone" in which selected neighborhoods or communities would be demonstration target areas, similar to the procedures for designating inner-city areas for CDBG grants. Special incentives might be provided for these target areas, but this would insure that the economic development efforts in those areas were not in conflict with a more comprehensive development plan for the entire city.

3. Tax credits for minority businesses in these target areas should be refundable.

4. Moreover, small businesses, and especially minority businesses, interested in developing in those target areas should also have the option of receiving wage subsidies for hiring long-term unemployed community

residents. In fact, wage subsidies would be more of an inducement for small businesses since they would greatly facilitate their immediate cash flow needs.

5. The economic and job development plan for a target area should be developed with the major involvement of community-based organizations with proven capabilities in economic and job development in inner-city areas.

6. And, as Paul Pryde points out, there should be more extensive consideration of the implications of the "free trade zone" feature of the Kemp-Garcia bill, especially for minority communities. He argues that increasing trade with countries such as Nigeria, Jamaica and Brazil, would significantly expand economic development opportunities for areas rather than competing solely in a domestic market "zero sum" game.[48]

X. EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

It cannot be over-emphasized that there are a number of community-based economic development efforts that have succeeded in stimulating business development and job creation thus benefitting minorities in economically distressed areas. Such community-based groups as the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corp. (in New York City), the Woodlawn Organization (in Chicago) and Opportunities Funding Corporation are only a few of numerous examples.[49]

Any economic development strategy for inner-city areas should definitely build on and utilize the expertise that such groups have demonstrated. Many of them have proven to be very effective in working with the private sector and in developing viable minority business enterprises. What most of them need are additional resources. In short, we contend that no strategy for enhancing the economic well-being of inner-city areas will be effective unless it builds on the already-existing economic and job development strengths among minorities in those areas.

Moreover, there are an increasing number of examples of effective economic and job development strategies by grass-roots self-help organizations. In his forthcoming book, Robert Woodson, Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research, effectively documents some innovative community development efforts of groups of former youth gang members in Chester, Pa., Hartford, Conn. and La Playa de Ponce, Puerto Rico.[50]

A comprehensive two-year study of effective economic and job development strategies in inner-city areas using CDBG funds was conducted by the National Urban League's Research Department between 1976 and 1978. This investigation identified a number of approaches that appeared to be more successful at enhancing the economic opportunities for the disadvantaged in inner-city areas. Some of the more effective strategies were as follows:

a. Attraction of industries that provide demand for the skill levels of the unemployed and location of industrial parks in areas accessible to workers in low-level jobs;

b. Using customized manpower services as part of an industrial development incentive package;

c. Providing venture opportunity to minority businessmen through industrial recycling and reuse and also providing city contracts as a support base;

d. Involving community-based organizations in the planning and development of commerical centers and industrial parks.

e. Substantial capitalization and operating subsidies for minority investment corporations;

f. Concentrated commercial revitalization in low-income and minority neighborhoods;

g. Technical and financial assistance for minority business development and expansion;

h. Training for careers in growth industries and business education for minority youth;

i. Combined work experience and training of minorities for public service careers; and

j. Skill training for minorities in connection with housing weatherization and rehabilitation in poverty areas.[51]

If the Reagan Administration incorporates those elements in any strategy that it designs for enhancing economic and job development activities in economically distressed areas, we are certain that the economic and social outlook will not only be brighter for blacks, but for all other Americans as well.

: : :

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a careful analysis of this report, see Paul Craig Roberts, "Avoiding an Economic Dunkirk," Wall St. Journal, December 18, 1980, on the Op. - Ed page.

[2] Robert B. Hill, *Black Families in the 1974-75 Depression*, National Urban League Research Department, Washington, D.C. July 1975.

[3] National Urban League Research Department, *A Guide for Enhancing Employment Opportunities for Low-Income and Disadvantaged Groups in CDBG Target Areas*, a report prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Washington, D.C. December, 1978.

[4] Alfred Malabre, Jr., "Recession Profile: If Over, It Ranks as Short, Painful, of Little Help in Setting Recovery Stage," *Wall St. Journal*, December 16, 1980, p. 56.

[5] National Urban League Research Department, "Initial Black Pulse Findings," *Black Pulse Bulletin #1*. August, 1980.

[6] Michael E. Borus, et. al. in *Pathways to the Future: A Longitudinal Study of Young Americans*, Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, January, 1980.

[7] National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Status, *Counting the Labor Force*, Washington, D.C., CPO, 1979.

[8] Robert B. Hill, "A Critique" of T. Aldrich, Finegan, *The Measurement, Behavior and Classification of Discouraged Workers*, Washington, D.C. National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics, Background Paper No. 12, June, 1978, pp. 83-95.

[9] For a more complete analysis, see Hill, *Discrimination and Minority Youth Unemployment*, Prepared for Vice-President's Task Force on Youth Employment August, 1979.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] Robert B. Hill, *The Widening Economic Gap*, National Urban League Research Department, Washington, D.C. 1979.

[12] Dorothy K. Newman et. al., *Protest, Politics and Prosperity: Black Americans and White Institutions*: 1940-1975, New York, Pantheon Books, 1978.

[13] Michael E. Borus et. al., Op. Cit.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Paul Osterman, "The Employment Problem of Black Youth, A Review of the Evidence and Some Policy Suggestions," Expanding Employment Opportunities for Disadvantaged Youth: Sponsored Research, National Commission on Employment Policy, Special Report No. 37, Washington, D.C., December 1979, pp. 85-132.

[16] Robert B. Hill, The Widening Economic Gap, op. cit.

[17] National Commission for Employment Policy, Trade and Employment, Special Report No. 30, Washington, D.C. November, 1978.

[18] Borus, op. cit.; Robert Lerman, The Nature of the Youth Employment Problems: A Review Paper, U.S. Department of Labor, Technical Analysis Paper No. 69, p. 61.

[19] For current regulations covering retail and service industries see U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1978, p. 12. Estimates of retail trade and service industries affected by new regulations, see 1977 Census of Retail Trade and Service Industries, "Establishment and Firm Size."

[20] Derived from Table 14, p. 74 in Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, submitted to Congress in 1979 by the Employment Standards Administration of the Department of Labor.

[21] U.S. Labor Department, Employment Standards Administration, Minimum Wages and Maximum Hours Standards Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1980, p. 26, Table 5.

[22] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Youth Employment and Minimum Wages, Bulletin 1657, 1970.

[23] Ibid.

[24] U.S. Department of Labor, Workplace Standards Administration, Minimum Wage and Maximum Hours Standards Under the Fair Labor Standards Act: Economic Effects Studies, January 1971 based on Labor Department study conducted between August 21, 1969 and June 20, 1970.

[25] Robert B. Hill, Discrimination and Minority Youth Employment, op. cit.

[26] Ibid.

[27] William Mirengoff and Lester Rindler, CETA: Manpower Programs Under Local Control, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1978

[28] U.S. Labor Department, Employment and Training Administration, Office of Program Evaluation, "Characteristics of Enrollees Who Entered CETA Program During Fiscal Year 1977," Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey, Report No. 8, March, 1979.

[29] Emory West, "Targeting Strategies for the Urban Disadvantaged," *Urban League Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1978) pp. 20-33.

[30] Prior to the formation of NAB-JOBS, the private sector provided on-the-job-training to the disadvantaged through subcontracts from national organizations such as trade associations, unions and community-based groups, like the National Urban League. Such groups still continue to provide vital job development and supportive services in cooperation with the private sector.

[31] *Manpower Report of the President: 1970*.

[32] U.S. Labor Department, Employment and Training Administration, *Involving Private Employers in CETA Programs: A Case Study* R + D Monographs No. 75, p. 110; Daniel Hamermesh, "Subsidies for Jobs in the Private Sector," in John Palmer (ed), *Creating Jobs: Public Employment Programs and Wage Subsidies* Brookings Institution, 1978, pp. 95-96.

[33] U.S. Labor Department, *Ibid*, pp. 108-111.

[34] Committee for Economic Development, *Training and Jobs for the Urban Poor*, New York, July, 1970.

[35] For a more detailed critique of the "Widening Cleavage" theory, See Robert Hill, *The Illusion of Black Progress*, NUL Research Department, Washington, D.C., 1978.

[36] For an insightful, more comprehensive analysis of the income and wealth status of blacks, see James A. Hefner, "The Black Balance Sheet," *Ebony*, August, 1980, pp. 38-42.

[37] See NUL Research Department, *The Myth of Income Cushions for Blacks*, Washington, D.C., 1980.

[38] U.S. Commerce Department, Bureau of the Census, *1977 Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Black*, Washington, D.C.

[39] Andrew F. Brimmer, "Shrinking Market Shares of Black-Owned Firms," *Black Enterprise*, December, 1980, pp. 83-84.

[40] Lawrence Ingrassis, "This Year's Slump Hit Weak Concerns Harder Than Decline of 1973-75," *Wall St. Journal*, November 28, 1980, p. 1.

[41] Amal Nag, "Slump Devastates Small Businesses: Failures Threaten to Slow Recovery," *Wall St. Journal*, October 10, 1980, p. 27.

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[43] Kemp, Ibid.; Paul Pryde, "Notes on Urban Policy and Enterprise Zones," Prepared for the American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Kemp, Ibid.

[46] George Sternlieb, Kemp-Garcia Act: An Initial Evaluation, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers, The State University, July, 1980.

[47] Northeast-Midwest Institute, Tax Cuts for Business: Will They Help Distressed Areas? Washington, D.C., September, 1980.

[48] Paul Pryde, Notes on Urban Policy of Enterprise Zones, prepared for American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research, 1980.

[49] For an insightful description of effective community-based self-help efforts, see John McClaughry "Recycling Reclining Neighborhoods; Give the People a Chance," Urban Lawyer, Vol. 10, 1978, pp. 318-351; Also see Roger J. Vaughan, A Community-Based Economic Development Strategy, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1978.

[50] For an in-depth description of effective self-help efforts by grassroots minority groups, see Robert Woodson, A Summons To Life: A Local Approach to Youth Crime and Its Role in Urban Revitialization, Ballinger, Boston, Forthcoming, 1981.

[51] National Urban League Research Department, A Guide for Enhancing Employment Opportunities for Low-Income and Disadvantaged Groups in CDBG Target Areas, Washington, D.C., December, 1978.

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Table 1

Change in Number of Unemployed[1] by Race, Sex and Age Status, 1975-80

			Change (1975-80)	
	1975	1980[2]	Amount	Percent
Total Workers	7,830	7,468	- 362	- 5%
White	6,371	5,809	- 562	- 9%
Adult men	2,816	2,581	- 235	- 8%
Adult women	2,149	1,934	- 215	- 10
Teenagers	1,406	1,293	- 113	- 8
Black	1,459	1,659	+ 200	+ 14%
Adult men	612	682	+ 70	+ 11
Adult women	500	613	+ 113	+ 23
Teenagers	347	364	+ 17	+ 5

[1] Numbers in thousands

[2] Average for 11 months

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Table 2

Unemployment Status of Workers by Race, Sex and Age Status, 1975-80

(Percent Unemployed)

	1975	1977	1979	1980[1]
Total	8.5	7.0	5.8	7.1
Black	13.9	13.1	11.3	13.2
White	7.8	6.2	5.1	6.3
Adult men				
Black	11.7	10.0	8.4	11.4
White	6.2	4.6	3.6	5.2
Adult women				
Black	11.5	11.7	10.1	11.1
White	7.5	6.2	5.0	5.6
Teenagers				
Black	36.8	38.3	33.5	35.8
White	17.9	15.4	13.9	15.6

(Number Unemployed)[2]

	1975	1977	1979	1980[1]
Total	7,830	6,856	5,963	7,468
Black	1,459	1,482	1,386	1,659
White	6,371	5,373	4,578	5,809
Adult men				
Black	612	551	495	682
White	2,816	2,176	1,728	2,581
Adult women				
Black	500	564	544	613
White	2,149	1,923	1,669	1,934
Teenagers				
Black	347	367	347	364
White	1,406	1,275	1,181	1,293

[1] Average for 11 months

[2] Numbers in thousands

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Table 3

Increase in Working-Age Population and Employed Workers by Ethnic Group, 1975-80

	Increase in Working-Age Population[2]	Increase in New Jobs[3]
Total Workers (No.)[1]	12,773	12,478
Total Workers (%)	100	100
Anglos	64	75
Hispanics	15	11
Blacks	15	10
Asians	6	4

[1] Numbers in thousands

[2] "Working-age" population refers to persons 14 years and over

[3] "New" Jobs refers to the increase in employed workers between 1975-80.

Table 4

Occupational Distribution of Black Workers, 1975 and 1980

	1975	1980[2]
Total Employed (No.)[1]	7,782	9,078
Total Employed (%)	100	100
Higher-Status	22	26
Professional	9	11
Managers & Adms.	4	5
Craft	9	10
Medium-Status	17	21
Sales	2	3
Clerical	15	18
Lower-Status	61	53
Operatives	21	20
Laborers	9	7
Service	31	26

[1] Numbers in thousands refer to blacks only, not all nonwhites.

[2] Data refer to the first 9 months in 1980.

Table 5

Median Income[1] of Families by Race

and Type of Family, 1970-79

	1970	1975	1977	1978	1979
All Families					
Black	$ 6,279	$ 8,779	$ 9,563	$10,879	$11,609
White	10,236	14,268	16,740	18,368	20,438
B/W Ratio	61	62	57	59	57
Husband-Wife Families					
Black	$ 7,816	$11,526	$13,716	$15,913	$16,963
White	10,723	15,125	17,916	19,638	21,659
B/W Ratio	73	76	77	81	78
Families Headed by Women					
Black	$ 3,576	$ 4,898	$ 5,598	$ 5,888	$ 6,784
White	5,754	7,651	8,799	9,911	11,547
B/W Ratio	62	64	64	59	59

[1] Median income in current dollars

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Table 6

Chances in Median Family Income in Current and Constant[1] Dollars by Race and Type of Family, 1970-1979

Black Families

	1970	1979	Change (1970-79)	
			Amount	Percent
All Families				
Current Dollars	$ 6,279	$11,609	$ 5,330	+ 85%
Constant Dollars	11,737	11,609	- 128	0
Husband-Wife				
Current Dollars	$ 7,816	$16,963	$ 9,147	+117%
Constant Dollars	14,631	16,963	2,332	+ 15
Families Headed by Women				
Current Dollars	$ 3,576	$ 6,784	$ 3,208	+ 90%
Constant Dollars	6,694	6,784	- 90	- 1%

White Families

	1970	1979	Change (1970-79)	
			Amount	Percent
All Families				
Current Dollars	$10,236	$20,438	$10,209	100%
Constant Dollars	19,134	20,438	1,304	+ 7%
Husband-Wife				
Current Dollars	$10,728	$21,659	$10,936	102
Constant Dollars	20,072	21,659	1,587	+ 8%
Families Headed by Women				
Current Dollars	$ 5,754	$11,547	$ 5,793	100
Constant Dollars	10,771	11,547	776	+ 7%

[1] Constant dollars adjusted for inflation in 1979 dollars

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Table 7

Proportion of Families Above BLS Budget Levels of Race, 1970-1979

Black Families

BLS Budgets	1970	1975	1977	1978	1979
Higher	9%	10%	9%	12%	10%
Intermediate	24	23	24	25	26
Lower	45	46	46	48	46

White Families

BLS Budgets	1970	1975	1977	1978	1979
Higher	23%	24%	24%	27%	24%
Intermediate	47	46	49	49	50
Lower	72	71	74	73	74

BLS Budget Levels	1970	1975	1977	1978	1979
Higher	$15,511	$22,294	$25,202	$27,420	$30,317
Intermediate	10,664	15,318	17,106	18,622	20,517
Lower	6,960	9,588	10,481	11,546	12,585

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Reports in the P-60 Series on Consumer Income and from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics releases on Standard budget levels which are adjusted each year for inflation.

THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK AMERICANS

By

Bernard C. Watson

I. INTRODUCTION

In "The State of Black America-1980," it was noted that the education of black Americans was a matter of grave concern. Nothing has happened during the past year to alter that assessment. Significant numbers of black Americans continue to leave school prior to graduation, while an additional significant percentage graduate from high school without even the most rudimentary reading, writing and mathematical skills necessary to function in modern society. Even as an increasing number and percentage of black Americans enroll in and graduate from high school, even as the median years of schooling completed increases, and even as the gap between black and white enrollment, retention, and graduation rate narrows, questions of the quality of education received by black Americans loom large.

To state it bluntly, the quality of education received by a significant percentage of black, Hispanic and poor Americans is unacceptable. Concentrated in public schools located in the older cities and urban areas of this country, blacks and other minorities are the victims of systems beset with the major problems of under-financing, violence, vandalism, teacher and administrator fear, hostility, and low expectations. To repeat an earlier assessment, the education too many children and youth receive in the schools and classrooms of this nation is nothing short of a national scandal, an absolute disgrace.

Achievement levels continue to lag two, even five years behind national norms. After a promising start in early childhood programs where the majority of children in the first two or three years achieve at or above expected levels, the children fall farther and farther behind. Truancy and violence continue to be major problems, and the climate in many schools is such that it is almost impossible for learning to take place. Parents and citizens continue to lose confidence in the schools. Teachers and administrators, under constant attack and feeling put-upon, retreat into defensiveness, exacerbating the problems and perpetuating a vicious cycle. In a period of rampant inflation and a declining tax base, educational costs continue to rise and school boards are forced to eliminate such "frills" as music, art, library services, physical education and, in some cases, kindergarten, often the very subjects and services most likely to motivate a child to learn and remain in school. Predictably, the quality of many programs and the performance of many students declines.

Public school desegregation continues to be a halting, tentative, often dangerous, always divisive process. As desegregation cases slowly and torturously proceed through administrative and legal due process, remedies become more difficult and are often moot as urban school systems become increasingly and overwhelmingly non-white. Lacking metropolitan and interdistrict remedies, many urban school desegregation decrees involve little more than the shifting of bodies from one location to another with little regard for the consequences and the effects on the quality of education and human relationships. White parents continue to resist any attempt at desegregation and increasing numbers of black parents, after years of seeing the burdens of desegregation placed disproportionately on black children, are questioning the benefits of desegregation. Many black parents, instead, argue for improving the quality of education their children receive wherever the children attend school.

Public school teachers and administrators, despite their protestation to the contrary, have, to date, been unable to demonstrate their ability to educate a significant minority of black and other minority children. Despite the legions of dedicated and hardworking teachers and administrators in service today, the percentage of young people leaving school either through graduation, exclusion or the dropout rolls, who lack even the most basic skills, remains constant or increases every year. Despite increased salaries and benefits for school staff, despite increased funding for local budgets, despite increased federal and state funds for the education of poor children, and/or for school systems undergoing desegregation, public schools still fail to educate hundreds of thousands of children who leave school ill-equipped or unable to cope with the realities of the economy and the marketplace or the demands of post secondary education.

Faced with these realities, public school systems in the older cities and urban areas are becoming schools for those who have few, if any, choices. Middle and upper-income families - black, white, and Hispanic - remove their children from the public schools and enroll them in a variety of private schools: elitists, religious, fundamentalist, etc. Public schools become the repository for poor, non-white children whose only opportunity for education is in the public system, a system where children are far too often viewed either as uneducable, or capable of absorbing only the rudiments of basic education. Pop psychology and pop sociology become the sine qua non and students are viewed, not as young people capable of mastering the curriculum and developing high-level competency, not as partially-formed human beings capable of developing great expectations and dreaming great dreams, not as children and youth in whom their parents have invested their dreams and faith, but, sadly as the living, breathing embodiment of all the accumulated disadvantages of poverty, poor housing, inadequate diet, unemployment, violence and the stark bleakness of their total environment. What a shame!

It was not a very good year for black Americans, nor does the coming year offer much hope.

II. COMPETENCY TESTING [1]

The continued deterioration of public education in cities and urban areas led to a number of reactions. Parents, citizens and the business community began to demand a minimum level of competence for all students, particularly for high school graduates. Parents complained that their children lacked basic skills. Businessmen, as employers, complained about the large number of "functional illiterates" the schools were producing and citizens expressed their resentment at increased taxes to support expanded school budgets which, apparently, did not result in an improved product.

Congressman Ronald Mottl of Ohio introduced a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives which would have required competency testing for all high school graduates. State legislators, quickly seizing upon taxpayer and citizen discontent, introduced and passed legislation requiring that tests be administered to high school students preparing to graduate and requiring that every student demonstrate a pre-determined level of competency as a prerequisite for graduation and receipt of a high school diploma. Thirty-eight of the 50 states have passed such legislation.

The passage of this legislation represents an attempt to develop accountability, but although some efforts in this area have attempted to include teachers and, to a lesser degree, administrators, the major effort to date has been to develop educational accountability by placing the burden upon the student; e.g. to hold the student accountable. This student-centered approach taken by the 38 state legislatures creates complex implementation and procedural problems among which is the question of what constitutes minimum competency.

It is clear, however, that attempts to establish a comparable system of accountability for teachers and administrators is far more difficult and complex. One illustration of the difficulty has been the organizational opposition that teacher organizations have mounted against teacher accountability. To date, no comparable organized opposition has been presented in behalf of students. A challenge to competency testing was, however, argued in the U.S. District Court in Tampa, Florida. The decision upheld the plaintiff's position that previous discriminatory practices necessitated a delay in the implementation of Florida's Educational Accountability Act of 1976.

It is important that a definition of competency be developed. Are competencies the basic school skills of reading, writing and mathematics or are they the "life" and/or "survival" skills which have recently become a part of the new educational jargon? Can one infer that competency or proficiency include the application of skills necessary for being a consumer, voter or employee? Most definitions to date refer to adequacy, having the smallest permissible quantity of skills, knowledge and experience. Minimum competency does not deal with the exceptional or with excellence. It is what is needed to "get by." Yet, the impact of not getting by, not passing the series of tests designed to determine one's competency greatly diminishes a student's ability to succeed in our increasingly complex and ever-changing world. Failure to pass the competency tests can result in failure to graduate and the subsequent failure to obtain employment or to enter post high school education or training.

We must specify the goals of minimum competency. We must identify the benefits, risks and consequences of minimum competency that can relegate schooling to simply getting by. Current efforts to institute minimum competency requirements must be balanced by foresight concerning the broader psychosocial and economic consequences. Unless such efforts are open to the widest possible forum, which must include spokesmen for poor and disadvantaged minority youth, the results will likely be devastating. Efforts to insure that schools provide at least minimum preparation for adult life must not be allowed to degenerate into the social ignorance of past decades.

There is nothing inherently inappropriate with demanding or mandating minimum competencies, but, too often, when these and other programs are instituted, the inclination is to proceed as if the mere passage of legislation will somehow correct basic systemic deficiencies. Such an approach is all the more dangerous because it does not require policy-makers or decision-makers to systemically deal with the effects of such programs.

For poor and black Americans, the siren song of minimum competency programs is especially beguiling. To parents of children who are two, three, even four or five years below grade level achievement, to parents of young people who have not gained even basic literacy, the attraction and lure of mandated minimum competencies is very strong. But the consequences of accepting this as a remedy to real and persistent problems would be devastating.

The skills necessary to cope with the realities of the next few decades are not minimum or basic in the narrow sense.[2] Young people will need the skills of analysis, synthesis, comprehension, criticism and research. They will need to learn how to learn, to seek out the necessary information, to learn how to become autodidactic, to think, to make judgments and decisions. They need to develop the ability to adapt and use knowledge in new and unique situations which can only be dimly perceived at this time. These are the skills most necessary for all children and youth, but they are, unfortunately, the skills most often lacking or under-emphasized in educational programs available to black Americans in the public schools of urban America. It is noteworthy that the most emphasis is placed on minimum competency and back to basics in schools serving poor and minority children and youth, categories in which black Americans are overrepresented.

It is apparent that the burden of minimum competency must not be borne entirely by students. To expect students to produce and be held accountable for the educational process, when teachers and administrators are not, is foolish and unrealistic. At the very minimum, competency and accountability must include educators. I believe they must also include parents and students.[3] We must guard against the ever present danger that the minimum will, somehow, become the maximum. Finally, minimum competency testing programs must be seen for what they are: political responses which do not address the basic question of whether educators are educating. Black Americans cannot allow minimum competency to become what we accept as the measure of education. By definition, education must be more than a minimum.

III. DROPOUTS, PUSHOUTS AND OUT OF SCHOOL YOUTH

In 1975, the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc. published a report entitled School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children?[4] That report documented the nature and extent of the suspension problem. During the 1972-1973 school year one in 24 children enrolled in the reporting districts and one in every 13 secondary school students enrolled was suspended at least once. Thirteen states reported suspending over five percent of their school populations. Fifteen states reported suspending over 30,000 children and California reported almost 142,000 suspensions, even though the data did not include schools in Los Angeles.

Other reports prior to and subsequent to the Children's Defense Fund Report have documented the nature and extent of suspensions and exclusions of school children and youth. Each of the reports point to the disproportionate number of blacks suspended or excluded from schools. Studies of school desegregation show that black children and youth were suspended and excluded more often than white, and similar research on school violence and vandalism reveals the same patterns.[5] Violence is more pronounced in urban and big city schools and is most evident in schools attended by minorities and the poor. Young people attending these schools are the victims of poor educational programs and practice and inadequately maintained buildings. Once excluded or suspended from these schools, however, these young people find themselves on the streets of their neighborhoods with few alternatives available for education training. For too many of these young people, suspension, exclusion or dropping-out is their introduction to membership in the urban underclass. For other young people, it is a continuation along the path of older brothers and sisters, perhaps even parents, who have left school prior to graduation without either the credential - high school diploma - or the skills and attitudes necessary for gainful employment.

University of Chicago sociologist William Wilson describes the underclass population as consisting of largely unskilled laborers, domestic workers and welfare recipients.[6] He distinguishes this group from the stable working class of largely semi-skilled blue collar workers on the one hand, and from the middle-class population of skilled blue and white collar workers on the other. On the basis of Wilson's classification, roughly 35% of the black population is in the underclass which is characterized by rising rates of unemployment, declining labor force participation rates, increasing numbers of female-headed households, and expanding welfare rolls.

A staggering percentage of the children from these households fail to complete high school. Racial oppression in the past created the large black underclass as disadvantages were passed from one generation to the next and, today, the economic and technological revolution of an advanced capitalist society threatens to solidify that position. With the loss of higher paying jobs which can be obtained without education and/or technical skills, poor blacks in the underclass are faced with a situation where the only jobs to which they have access are dead-end, menial jobs which frequently lack union protection. For the less fortunate members, even these jobs are beyond their grasp because of their race, attitudes and dress.

It should be noted, however, that the developing[7] underclass includes Hispanics and poor whites as well as blacks. Among the 14-21 age group, these young people have certain characteristics in common: they are poor, uneducated, unskilled, out of school and unemployed. They are frequently without real hope and, unlike previous generations, have little confidence that they will have a better life than their parents and older siblings.

As Douglas Glasgow points out in his book The Black Underclass, the underclass is distinguished from the lower class principally by its lack of mobility; most of their children will probably remain in the grip of poverty.[8] Glasgow argues that members of the underclass are not necessarily unmotivated or lacking in aspiration, but most of the long-term poor are preoccupied with trying to maintain a job and keep body and soul together.

Glasgow, Wilson and others agree that modest, even significant, gains in black income and employment cannot conceal the existence of a permanent and growing underclass which, as it expands, absorbs even greater numbers of young blacks, who, because they lack education and salable skills, cannot gain access to the mainstream of American life. Once absorbed into the underclass, young men and women develop socially dysfunctional "survival tactics" and thereby become further mired in their unfortunate position at the bottom of the economic ladder.

Education has failed these young people and thereby denied them social mobility. Further, many of the programs and social agencies designed to help them have tended to reinforce the conditions that entrap them. This existing and expanding underclass is not insignificant. Its members, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, are cast adrift in our cities and urban areas. In my view, the underclass represents not only an indictment of the American Dream of equal opportunity and employment for all who want it, but also it represents a clear and present danger to the harmony and civility which are absolutely necessary to human interaction in American life.

IV. ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION [9]

During the decade of the 1960's, a debate on the value and effect of alternative education raged in many school districts across the country. The alternatives which were developed ranged from a small program within a school or an annex on the one hand to the creation of an entire alternative school on the other. Since that time the arguments have subsided and many of the programs and schools have disappeared while others have survived, often with significant alterations in program and conception. Examples of these alternatives include Philadelphia's famous Parkway Program, New York's City-As-School and Boston's LAB School. These and other alternatives were supported by local operating budgets, foundation grants, the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Education.

Alternative schools were created for many different kinds of people: all students in a system, the academically talented, adolescent mothers, gang members, disruptive students, low aptitude and other underachieving students, and a host of other narrowly defined groups. A number of alternative schools and programs have focused on one specific ethnic or racial group in an effort to create programs uniquely suited to the needs and learning styles of that group. In some cases, this focus has led to racial isolation and separatism.

Knowledge about alternative programs and schools is fragmentary; there is much we do not know and understand. Much of the data on the efficacy of alternative education is suspect, even when it is available. We do not know the extent to which students learn more or perform better in alternative programs as contrasted with traditional schools. We know that some programs and schools have better student attendance, that students have more positive attitudes toward their subjects, teachers and peers. In selected programs there is evidence that achievement is improved. In others, however, there is little evidence that positive gains have been sustained.

There are many things we do know. The free schools which were so popular during the sixties are no longer viewed as viable alternatives to traditional schools. Some free schools still exist, but other have disappeared. Even those which are thriving are isolated from the mainstream and from each other. They are struggling for survival, often on a day-today basis. Some have been absorbed into the public school systems, while others maintain a tenuous existence on grants from public and private sources. They tend to have a short life, serve limited numbers of students, offer a limited curriculum and have simple organizational structures.

For black Americans, the alternative education movement poses a number of difficulties. Black and other minority parents must question the efficacy of such programs. If, indeed, they suffer from the shortcomings identified earlier in this paper, certain questions immediately come to mind. How valuable will such programs be to children and youth if the curriculum is narrow and limited? If the schools are isolated from the mainstream and from each other, will black children and youth be able to compete in more traditional educational environments? Will they be able to reenter traditional educational programs with little difficulty? Is there convincing evidence that participants in and graduates of alternative programs and schools develop the skills and knowledge which enable them to enter the employment market or gain admission to institutions of higher education? Do alternative schools become a vehicle for isolating black students, thereby enabling teachers and administrators to avoid the responsibility for educating them along with other students? Do alternative programs and schools become a dumping ground for aggressive, independent students who do not conform to teachers' and administrators' notions of appropriate behavior?

These are but a few of the questions which need to be answered before black parents accept alternatives for their children. Particularly important is the need to recognize that most employers, most institutions of higher education, and most educational institutions at the elementary and secondary level are traditional. Students are evaluated not only on the basis of what they know and have learned, but also on where and how they acquired their knowledge. In a period of our history when skills and knowledge as well as credentials are necessary even for entry-level jobs, the credibility of alternative schools and programs must be questioned.

Admissions officers require not only SAT and ACT scores, they also evaluate high school courses and credits. Employers and admissions officers evaluate not only diplomas, grades and recommendations, they also evaluate the institutions which provide them. Despite the more liberal attitudes toward education which characterized the past decade, this is still a traditional and mainstream society. Black parents should embrace alternative programs and schools with considerable caution and some trepidation. Although such programs and schools may serve some students very well, there is little evidence to suggest that they are an appropriate substitute for effective, well-planned, vigorous and sustained instruction in more traditional settings.

V. BLACK STRUGGLE AND ACHIEVEMENT: TOO OFTEN IGNORED

In most discussions, analyses and assessments of blacks and education, there is one group which is almost always ignored by scholars, the media and educators: the achievers. There are thousands of poor, black parents who are doing a commendable, even herculean, job of rearing, encouraging, and motivating their children to succeed and achieve in school. There are thousands of disadvantaged black children and youth who are willing to pay the price for scholastic achievement, for excellence. These young people work hard, study their lessons and, somehow, make it through the often stultifying, depressing and discouraging hurdles thrown in their path. The black student achiever is almost totally ignored; they are certainly the most ignored of all inner-city youth. And it is precisely because they are ignored that the condition of urban schools is more depressing than it has to be in 1981.

Attention is showered on athletes, street gang leaders, unwed adolescent mothers, the violent and the lazy. The clear impression created is that all inner-city, disadvantaged, black youth are alike: unmotivated, under-achieving, violent, disruptive and lacking in interest in matters educational. Poor parents of disadvantaged black youth are portrayed as uneducated, discouraged and unable to cope with or to discipline and inspire their children.

The same could be said of teachers and administrators. As Vernon Jarrett pointed out in a recent column,[10] one could easily conclude from the public oratory that there are no good teachers, or counselors. Clearly, some of them must be doing something right. Somebody must be teaching these young people, encouraging achievement and hard work and raising aspirations. The tragedy is that these individuals - students, parents and administrators in disadvantaged urban and city schools - become scapegoats, the victims of a prevailing stereotype and mythology which consigns all of them to the educational trash heap. It is an additional, unnecessary, and cruel burden placed on the shoulders of poor, black and minority children.

A vicious cycle has been created. By failing to recognize effort and achievement, by failing to differentiate between and among good and poor teachers and principals, between hard working and achieving students and those who don't try, between parents who make the effort and succeed and those who do not, we fail to recognize and reinforce success. As William Raspberry[11] points out, it is absolutely necessary that teachers be competent and confident of their ability to teach poor black children. It is equally necessary that parents and their children believe that hard work and study pay off in the future. Unless we reinforce the efforts of each, we reduce the probability of success and crush what little hope is left among those for whom hope may be their last refuge.

VI. HIGHER EDUCATION

Black Americans continue to pursue opportunities in higher education. They continue to do so despite the continuing and significant disparity between black and white high school completion rates, despite the skewed distribution of black students among academic fields of study, and despite the underrepresentation of black Americans in graduate and professional schools. Beginning in 1967, significant increases in black enrollment were registered and continued over the next decade until, today, approximately 11% of the total enrollment in higher education is black. In the South, black enrollment in 1976 was 15.1% of the total 426,000 students and since 1970 has grown at double the rate of white enrollment. As noted in last year's report, these gains have been dramatic. By 1975 black Americans represented 8% of all students enrolled in the senior year of college.[12]

These figures, however, continue to mask certain persistent problems and must, therefore, be viewed in the proper context. An examination of graduation rates among black Americans demonstrates clearly that rates of access, participation and graduation decline as the level of education rises. Although black Americans enrolled in higher education approached their percentage in the general population, the percentage enrolled in graduate schools was only 6% and the percentage in professional schools was only 4.5%. Black Americans earned only 3.5% of the doctorates awarded and, even at the lower levels where increasing numbers of blacks and other minorities are enrolled, only 8.4% of the associate and less than baccalaureate degrees were awarded to black Americans.

The following data from 1975-76 provide a context in which black participation in higher education must be viewed:[13]

- While the level of undergraduate enrollment of black Americans reflects their numbers in the population, black students are severely underrepresented in higher degree levels. Blacks constituted 4.5% of the total first-year professional enrollment and 6% of the graduate enrollment. In the South, the figures were 5.4% and 10.1% respectively.

- At all levels, black Americans are still underrepresented in certain fields. In 1976, blacks represented 2.1% of the enrollment in agriculture and natural resources; 4.5% in architecture and environmental design; 6.6% in biological sciences; 5% in engineering; 2.0% in veterinary medicine; and 4.3% in physical sciences. Blacks represented 4.0% of the enrollment in dentistry; 5.9% in medicine; and 4.5% in law.

- Approximately 42% of all black students enrolled at all levels of higher education were in two-year community colleges compared with about one-third of all white students enrolled.

- Forty-five percent of all black undergraduates were in two year colleges as were 55% of all black first-time freshmen.

- Fifteen percent of all black students in higher education were enrolled at the university level compared with 25% of all students.

- Of the approximately 400,000 black students enrolled in four-year, post secondary degree granting institutions 50% or more than 200,000 were attending one of the 107 historically black colleges or universities. The other 50% were attending predominately white colleges and universities throughout the United States.

- At the graduate level, blacks are more likely than the average student to be enrolled part-time, suggesting the necessity to combine study with work more often than other students.

- Of the 65,000 black graduate students, 63.4% were in their first year of graduate study.

- Nineteen percent of black students pursuing professional programs were in the historically black colleges.

- At the doctorate level, more than three times as many degrees were conferred to non-resident aliens (4,068) than to black Americans (1,213). For master's degrees,

- conferred by institutions other than the historically black colleges, foreigners received the same proportion of the total as did black Americans.
- Higher education institutions in 29 states conferred more master's degrees to non-resident aliens than to black Americans.
- In Alabama, all of the veterinary medicine degrees awarded to blacks in 1975-1976 came from Tuskegee Institute.
- In the District of Columbia, 92% of the dentistry and 84% of the medical degrees awarded to blacks were conferred by Howard University.
- Texas Southern University granted two-thirds of all law degrees awarded to blacks in Texas. North Carolina Central conferred 71% of the law degrees awarded to blacks in North Carolina.
- Meharry Medical College conferred 96% of the dentistry and 92% of the medical degrees awarded to blacks in Tennessee.

VII. TWO YEAR COLLEGES [14]

With the exception of the historically black institutions of higher education, the two year colleges have done more than any others to increase access to higher education for minority students. Well over 40% of all black students enrolled in higher education are in two year colleges. In one state, California, more than 70% of all full-time undergraduate black students are in two year colleges and more than 80% of all full-time undergraduate Hispanic students are enrolled in such colleges. The reasons for this overrepresentation in two-year institutions are obvious: they are located in areas where black and other minority Americans are concentrated, admissions standards are lower, and, because most are commuter institutions, they cost less to attend than four year residential institutions.

Two-year colleges have brightened the futures and provided opportunity for minority and white students as well. In the absence of such institutions, many would not have the opportunity to participate in higher education. At the same time, however, there are problems associated with this development:

- Credits from two-year institutions are not always easily transferable to four year degree-granting institutions.
- Because two-year colleges provide easy access, many four-year institutions have felt little need to increase minority enrollment.
- Many two-year institutions have failed to define and refine their mission. Too often, they have tried to be all things to all people, and in the process, may have failed to provide appropriate programs for full-time traditional age students, a disproportionate number of whom are minorities. Matriculation problems for students transfering to four-year institutions are created or exacerbated.
- Two-year institutions with a dual mission of preparing students for transfer to four-year colleges and universities on the one hand and occupational programs leading to employment on the other, have often not adequately prepared some students for either. There is also an inequity in the very small number of minority students who are in the skilled technical fields, whether it is data processing, engineering technology, nursing or lab technology.
- Many of the students attending two-year colleges are lacking in basic skills and the financial and human resources necessary to deal with this problem are not always available.
- The dropout rate at many community colleges is atrocious.

If the two-year institutions are to continue to fulfill their historic role of providing access and, if they are to increase the probability that blacks and other minorities receive the education and develop the skills which lead to employment in the skill areas, or to admission to baccalaureate degree institutions, much remains to be done.

VIII. BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

In the fall of 1978 the Historically Black Colleges (HBC) enrolled a total of 195,096 students, of whom 186,385 were degree seeking. Black Americans represented 90% of the total enrollment in these schools and represented 16.5% of the black enrollment in all institutions of higher education in the United States. It is interesting to note that 10% of the enrollment in these institutions consisted of white, non-resident aliens and other minorities. Obviously, these institutions are making a substantial contribution, not only to the goals of black higher education, but to diversity within the entire higher education sector.[15]

The contribution of the HBC's is even more dramatic when you consider the following facts:[16]

- 95.6% of black Americans enrolled in HBC's in 1978 were in university or four-year institutions compared to 50.7% of black Americans enrolled in non-HBC institutions.
- Conversely, of the 883,143 black Americans enrolled in non-HBC institutions, 49.3% were enrolled in two-year institutions as compared to only 4.4% in HBC's.
- HBC's accounted for 32.9% of all black Americans enrolled in four-year colleges and universities and 52.1% of black Americans enrolled in those states where HBC's are located.
- 85.8% of black Americans enrolled in HBC's were full-time students, compared to 62% for all black American students.
- Nationally, HBC's accounted for 17.4% of all degree seeking black undergraduates in 1978, but in the 17 states and the District of Columbia where these institutions are located, that percentage was 32.5%.
- In 1978, women comprised 56.8% of black enrollment in HBC's, a proportion which has widened over the past five years and now approximates the 57% women among all black students enrolled in higher education.

- HBC's students tend to come from rural or small urban areas. A recent study showed that less than 28% were from large urban areas where minority populations of college age are usually concentrated.
- In 1975-76, HBC's accounted for 37.9% of all baccalaureate degrees conferred on black Americans nationwide; 22.3% of the Master's degrees, 4.1% of the doctorates, and 20.2% of the first professional degrees. The figures are even more impressive in the states were HBC's are located.

When one examines faculty data, some interesting facts emerge. In 1975, a total of almost 450,000 faculty members were employed by some 3,000 institutions of higher education in the United States. Black Americans accounted for only 4.4% of that total, but 38.8% of those were employed in the HBC sector. Of the total faculty employed by HBC's in 1975, black Americans represented 55.1%, whites made up another 40% and the remainder were other minority individuals. Among administrators, black Americans constituted 78.1%, white Americans accounted for 20.8% and other minorities 1.2%. This is a record of staff diversity few predominately white institutions can match.[17]

IX. PERSISTENT PROBLEMS

Black Americans attending predominately white colleges and universities continue to face problems because of their race. Donald Smith, in a recently completed study, documents the nature and extent of this problem.[18] Significant numbers of black students on a predominately white campus continue to cause concern among white faculty and students. In 1980 there were serious racial incidents at several of the eastern, elitist institutions of higher education. The incidents included threats and assaults on black students and the burning of a cross in front of a house where a number of black students lived.

Black Americans continue to enroll in traditional fields, although there has been a significant increase in those pursuing engineering and smaller increases in the numbers pursuing majors in business and management. Although the figures are sometimes contradictory and incomplete, there is little doubt that black Americans are underrepresented in basic and applied sciences, information systems and computor technology, mathematics, agriculture, engineering and the health professions. Many black Americans continue to select a college or university based on the cost of attending the institutions, rather than on the quality of programs.

X. SUMMARY STATEMENT

Because black Americans have historically educated their children in the public schools, the decline in the quality of public education, the erosion of support for public education, and the recent attempts to further undermine public schools through such means as tuition tax credits and anti-busing legislation must be viewed as frontal attacks on a primary means of upward mobility for black Americans. It is imperative, therefore, that black Americans understand the consequences of these assaults. An educated and informed citizenry is crucial to black survival and any weakening of the education institutions upon which the majority of black citizens depend would be devastating. This is true whether we are speaking of the public schools, the historically black colleges and universities, the two year colleges or those financial aid programs which have enabled hundreds of thousands of poor, black Americans to attend the entire range of institutions of higher education. Continued access is a necessity.

During the decade of the 80s, it is likely that the trend toward more conservative attitudes as illustrated during the recent presidential election will be reflected in the development of more conservative public policies. One example of such a policy is the suggestion that the Voting Rights Act be repealed, thereby removing federal oversight. Another example is the suggestion that the U.S. Department of Justice be prohibited from instituting suits for desegregation. These and other more conservative initiatives should be a cause for grave concern, although it is too early to tell whether these initiatives will be successful. One thing is certain, however, and that is that black Americans must place less reliance on their allies and must bear more of the burden themselves.

Because it is not too much of an exaggeration to say that our survival is at stake, black Americans must no longer depend solely upon the schools to provide our children and youth with the skills and knowledge necessary to contend with a political, economic and social milieu which is not only unsympathetic, but may very well be hostile in many respects. Black organizations of all kinds must begin to institute programs which provide skills, knowledge, and support for black youth. Black youth must be politicized by making them aware of our history of struggle. Educational forums of all kinds must be a staple of black communities throughout the country in order that our youth may be instilled with a sense of pride that only their history can provide, especially when that history is conveyed by those who were a part of the struggle for equality and human dignity.

We must find some way to convince young black Americans that the opportunities available to them today were achieved at great cost and after great struggle and that it is imperative that they take advantage of the opportunities available to them. By so doing, they will gain the skills and determination to continue the struggle, not only for themselves and their children, but for generations to come. Existing opportunities are not guaranteed; they hang perilously on the sharp precipice of extreme conservatism. Black people, particularly black youth, must understand the broader implications of the emerging conservative mood. They must learn to recognize the ominous meaning of such code words as "state rights" and "neighborhood schools" and realize that such terms could signal a return to Plessy vs. Ferguson.

The time is now for education of black youth to become a responsibility of all black adults. We must recognize that a currciulum based on minimum competencies in a society that requires maximum skills is not the answer for black Americans. Black Americans must recognize that the hidden curriculum of urban public schools seems to be designed to increase the numbers of young people who join the emerging underclass.

It seems clear that in 1981 black Americans must return to a period in our history when we relied more heavily on our own inner strengths and resources for survival and for the education of our children and youth. We must draw upon our past experience and look to ourselves for our educational and political survival, while, at the same time, making sure that those who are officially charged with such responsibilities are held accountable. Because there is power in our numbers, all black Americans must realize the necessity for understanding and participating at all levels and in all areas of the educational and political process.*

The struggle goes on.

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*See Appendix

FOOTNOTES

[1] See the Politics of Education Bulletin; Vol. 9, no. 2, Winter 1980. See also Proceedings on the Conference on the Politics of Minimum Competency sponsored by Temple University, Pa., October, 1979.

[2] For an up to date discussion on this subject see The Humanities in American Life, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 25-59.

[3] Bernard C. Watson. "Accountability in Inner City Schools Through School Community Involvement," The High School Journal Vol. LX no. 4 (January, 1977).

[4] Report of the Children's Defense Fund, School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children (Washington Research Project Inc., 1975). See also Report of the Eleventh National NEA Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education, Student Displacement/Expulsion: Violations of Civil and Human Rights (Washington, D.C., NEA, 1973); Marian Wright Edelman, Portrait of Inequality: Black and White Children in America, (Washington, D.C.: Washington Research Project Inc., 1980); Hearings before the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities of the Committee on Education and Labor, 94th Congress, 2nd session, 1976.

[5] Ibid.: See also Bernard C. Watson. "Violence and Vandalism in Central City Schools" in Revitalizing Cities (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1979); The Safe School Study Report to Congress, Violent Schools - Safe Schools (Washington, D.C.: National Institute on Education, 1977).

[6] William J. Wilson. The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). See also The Declining Significance of Race?: A Dialogue Among Black and White Social Scientist, ed. Joseph R. Washington, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979).

[7] "The American Underclass," Time, August 29, 1977.

[8] Douglas G. Glasgow, The Black Underclass (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1980).

[9] See Vernon H. Smith. Alternative Schools The Development of Options in Public Education (Professional Educators Publications Inc., 1974); David Thornton Moore. "Alternative Schools: A Review" (Eric Clearinghouse on Urban Education) no. 53, June 1978.

[10] Vernon Jarrett. "Black Pupils Are Too Often Ignored" Chicago Tribune Service, 1977.

[11] William Raspberry. "Black Education: No Scapegoats Please." Philadelphia Inquirer, 4 March 1980.

[12] See Bernard C. Watson "Education" chapter in National Urban League, Inc., The State of Black America, January 22, 1980.

[13] Ibid.

[14] See Institute for Study of Education Policy Monitor Vol. 4, no. 3 (September, 1980), See also Access of Black Americans to Higher Edcation - How Open is the Door? (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979). See Lorenzo Morris. "Elusive Equality: The Status of Black Americans in Higher Education" (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1979).

[15] U.S. Department of Education, National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities. Still a Life Line: The Status of Historically Black Colleges and Universities, June, 1980.

[16] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[17] Ibid., p. 24.

[18] See Donald Smith "Admissions and Retention Problems of Black Students at Seven Predominantly White Universities" unpublished Research Report to National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, July, 1979.

HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOODS

By

Phillip L. Clay

1. INTRODUCTION

As we move into the 1980s, the dream of a decent home in a suitable environment is still not realized by millions of black families. While progress has been made in decreasing the number of blacks who live in slum conditions, the proportion who face housing and neighborhood problems is still greater than it is for whites. Race continues to make a separate, strong and independent contribution to the uneven distribution of shelter status among Americans.

Recent trends in the economy show a major new twist to the problem. The cost of available housing joins the longstanding problems of discrimination and quality as major barriers to the achievement of housing goals. Even as the housing stock improves and prejudice (if not discrimination) lessens, rising costs along with other problems increasingly prevent blacks from equal access to decent housing in neighborhoods of their choice.

In this paper we will put the housing and neighborhood status of black Americans in a context which reflects the old and still largely unsolved problems of housing equality and equal access and the new problem of housing costs.

It is generally not contested that blacks have different housing outcomes than whites. This occurs despite past efforts to correct the inequalities. Slum clearance and urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s demolished housing units in many black communities without building new housing that would be affordable to these groups. This "Negro removal" caused blacks to scatter to other neighborhoods where overcrowding and exploitation (i.e., "blockbusting") took place.

Various housing programs from 1954 through the 1970's either served the "better off" households (the high end of eligibility ranges), benefitted intermediaries (i.e., developers and lenders) more than clients, were scandal-ridden (as in the case of some FHA programs), or proved too costly to survive repeated Congressional assaults (as may occur with the Section 8 new Construction program). Private suburban development turned out to be "for whites only" (and for the most part until recently, for homeowners only). Banks redlined black and inner city areas and practiced discriminatory credit policies.[1]

Efforts to achieve fair housing by opening up the suburbs were met with increasingly more subtle discrimination if not outright resistance. More and more the result was two communities -- one black, central city and poor; and the other white, suburban, and able to benefit from expanding housing opportunities (though most recently the cost problem has become serious for whites as well).

Blacks were not only denied access to improved housing opportunities, but were denied control over their own neighborhoods as public action (i. e., urban renewal and highway programs) and private redlining reduced the ability by lending institutions and/or the willingness of citizens to improve their housing and promoted an instability that often proved injurious to serious efforts by residents to retain the social fabric and improve the physical conditions of their communities.

This, in short, is a summary of the state of housing and neighborhood conditions for many blacks in 1981. The key trends are detailed in the sections below.

II. HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: LONG-TERM TRENDS

A. Metropolitan Distribution of Blacks

The black population has been steadily urbanizing in recent years. After generations of being mainly rural and southern, by 1960 blacks were more likely than whites to be urban residents (81% vs. 71%). No doubt the 1980 Census will show a continuation of the trend. Yet while the black population grew mainly in the central cities, all of the net growth among urban whites took place in the suburbs.

In the last ten years there has been only a trickle of blacks to the suburbs. But as Table 1 shows, in 1975 there was only a slightly larger proportion of the suburban population that was black than compared to 1960. Other data, from the 1960s through the 1970s suggest that the trend is still small, and that black suburban migration is limited to middle-class blacks.[2] The migration, instead of generating a settlement pattern to reflect the distribution of income and housing prices, produces a resegregation pattern where blacks are concentrated in a few suburban enclaves. In these enclaves, blacks often find better housing conditions than in the central city ghetto areas, but in some cases, only marginally better, and often with fewer social services.[3]

Blacks in low and moderate-income households have been effectively excluded from new suburban areas by exclusionary zoning (that rules out apartments and less costly homes), higher costs (and interest rates), and reduced construction activity resulting from both economic conditions and restrictive controls. In short, while there has been some marginal suburban migration among well-off blacks, the basic pattern established for decades of blacks moving into cities and taking over neighborhoods abandoned by whites is still very much in evidence.

The fact that blacks are concentrated in central cities does not suggest that central city settlement patterns are static. While whites left central cities in large numbers, and blacks came in large numbers through the early 1970s, the black in-migration was not sufficient in the aggregate to make up for the total loss of whites (see Table 2). This created soft markets, where the supply of housing outpaced demand and in some places fostered extensive abandonment of structurally sound. The abandonment often occurred in ways that undermined the remaining housing and the stability of older neighborhoods by creating fears that the problem could strike any neighborhood and produce disinvestment. The process is often not confined to the worst housing, but housing which experiences difficulty for which no timely private investment solution is available. In any case, this sets the stage for expolitation of blacks (i.e., blockbusting, rent gouging, etc.) as realtors and others engage in activities to maximize their gains. Residents cope as best they can; some move, but many are trapped by low income or limited alternatives, or both. Whole sections of cities have been ruined in this process, and many other neighborhoods are sufficiently depressed to discourage extensive private investment.

Recently, however, a combination of factors points to a selective but wide-spread reinvestment in urban neighborhoods. This reinvestment is of two types. The first type is the "gentrification" reflected in the middle-class rediscovery of urban neighborhoods.[4] This middle-class renovation leads to extensive rehabilitation of housing, some of which is in poor condition but which is, from the point of view of investors and buyers, attractively located and architecturally interesting. This process often involves large-scale speculative activity or individual reinvestment at costs (reflected in prices and rents) which lead to the displacement of the existing residents, including in many cases blacks from neighborhoods which became predominately white after gentrification.[5]

The other type of reinvestment is that carried on by long-term residents of the neighborhoods -- residents who for one reason or another feel that the potential for achieving a quality of life, as well as return on their investment, is substantially greater. This activity is more modest in scale and much less expensive.[6] It causes little of the displacement percipitated by gentrification.

There has been some evidence of both kinds of reinvestment taking place in neighborhoods (of various sizes) in about 86% of central cities with a population of at least 150,000.[7] While none of the gentrification areas is a mainly black community after rehabilitation, many of the neighborhoods experiencing revitalization by existing residents are black or desegregated.[8] The former observation explains the substantial concern about the impact of displacement on blacks (remember "Negro removal" under urban renewal). The latter observation points to the real possibility of making urban reinvestment meaningful for black communities as well.

Gentrification represents in one sense a belated realization of hopes of some earlier renewal projects in that middle-class investors are attracted to central city neighborhoods to do the private investment which increases the tax base and stablizes the area. But this middle-class discovery brings with it negative externalities of substantial significance; that is, long-term residents are displaced at a time when affordable and decent alternative housing opportunities are in short supply and when, for blacks, discrimination reduces choice further. While the exact amount of this reinvestment displacement is unknown, it is widely acknowledged to exist, and in some cities, it is acknowledged to be a serious problem.[9]

Neighborhoods that are neither attractive to the middle-class nor sufficiently well-organized to be revitalized by long-term residents are often left to the whim of the market, while available resources are directed towards supporting reinvestment activities in these other types of neighborhoods where local governments believe their resources will do the most good. These communities which are left are typically occupied by blacks, by renters, and by low-income families.

B. Housing Production, Costs, and Affordability

In the past the production of new housing freed older housing for purchase by young families. This helped many blacks, both those who migrated from the South to the North and those who moved within metropolitan areas. The current competition for older, inner city housing reflected in reinvestment displacement is made worse for blacks because of declining production of new housing and the increasing cost of that which is built.[10] Moreover, alternative housing is often not available, having been ravaged by disinvestment and abandonment.[11] The decreasing production and increasing demand also contributed to increasing prices (even as interest rates increase dramatically) in existing housing. In 1975, one-third of black families compared to one-half of white families could afford then existing housing which sold for the median price of

$36,750. By 1979, the median price of existing housing rose 57% to $57,000, and it was estimated that less than a quarter of black families and just under one-half of white families could afford the house. Not only had the price of the existing housing increased, the interest rates had increased dramatically as had taxes, utilities, and other costs of homeownership. As prices increase, of course, both blacks and whites suffer, but blacks suffer more.

New house prices also increased dramatically. By 1979, only 15% of whites and less than 10% of blacks could afford the new house which sold for more than $70,000. Indeed, the number of blacks that can afford this new house may be overstated because of the limited wealth that blacks typically have compared to whites, and because capital shortages (experienced in late 1979 and nearly 1980) mean larger down payments are required -- as much as 30% when the down payment and various fees are included.

C. Rental Housing

Most blacks are renters (in 1970, 58% rented compared to 35% of whites). The problem for most blacks, in the first instance, is the availability and affordability of rental housing. As indicated above, the vacancy rate in rental housing in 1979 was less than 5% in major cities and in selected sub-markets, the vacancy rate for good housing was significant lower.[12]

While rents have risen less steeply than housing prices in recent years, renters have lower and less rapidly growing incomes. The result of a more limited ability to charge rents that relate to steeply rising costs is that fewer apartments have come on the market in recent years and in some cities the number of rental houses available has actually decreased.[13] In Chicago and Washington, for example, losses in the rental stock are estimated at 2% to 5%. These losses in the stock are due on the one hand to condominium conversion, which is one way investors can respond to unprofitable rental housing; and on the hand to disinvestment, which is the response of an investor who can neither convert nor make an adequate return. There are also "accidental" losses such as in the case of arson.

All of these features affect blacks particularly, either because they are poorer than whites (and more likely to live in disinvested buildings) or because they occupy housing that is attractive to condominium converters who will displace them.

In addition, the number of new subsidized units provided to meet the needs of low and moderate-income households is less than half of the number provided yearly in the mid 1970's when more than 400,000 units of subsidized housing were built each year.

D. Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity

Racial discrimination has been widely documented as a major factor explaining different housing and neighborhood outcomes for blacks. It still exists and is both strong and widespread. What is new is that more subtle and often institutional racism has largely replaced discriminatory individual behavior.[14]

A second development is that in some cases what in fact is racial discrimination emerges in other forms. For example, opposition to apartment construction and rules against renting apartments to families with dependent children are often covers for racial discrimination.

Efforts to fight discrimination have been limited by resources and by regulations which limit actions available to the Department of Housing and Urban Development and various state and local agencies.[15] As a result, discrimination is only infrequently prosecuted. Timely and effective remedies are costly and uncertain.

Further, efforts to open suburbs to low and moderate-cost housing have been stymied by the lack of definitive, consistent court rulings on suburban access, limited subsidy resources, and most importantly, unfriendly suburbs, who were unwilling to use subsidy programs or to allow developers to use them. Victories, when they come, are small and often of more benefit to suburbanites than blacks in the central city.

Now that central cities are experiencing some reinvestment and there is competition for selected neighborhoods in the city, the displacement issue emerges as an issue for equal opportunity and not just housing availability. Yet HUD and many local officials refuse to acknowledge the fact that a process not dissimilar from "Negro removal" in the urban renewal days, is taking place today (albeit more piecemeal), sometimes with the help of federal community development dollars.[16]

The issue is raised not only in connection with the limited access that blacks have to the new housing opportunities provided in these gentrified areas (including the siting of subsidized housing), or to the individual acts of discrimination that are practiced in these areas, but also that black areas do not get the kind of help from Community Development Block Grant funds that is extended to other communities. Furthermore, subsidy programs -- through site selection criteria -- judge black ("impacted areas") as unworthy of Section 8, while local governments use federal funds -- Community Development Block

Grants and Urban Development Action Grants -- to aid developers of luxury housing in the same location.

While displacement is not a traditional fair housing or equal opportunity issue, the same impacts that resulted in the suburbs with new development are re-emerging in urban reinvestment areas -- a development of significant consequence since the issue here is a matter of security in areas where blacks live and within the submarkets where most blacks will have to find alternative housing.

E. Community Development Block Grants and a New Federalism

The Community Development Block Grant program was enacted to give local communities a much larger role in community development program priorities, design, and implementation. Congress specified that the funds were to be used to assist low and moderate-income families or areas, including specifically low-income families, and that the activity was covered by affirmative action and equal opportunity laws and regulations. Yet program experience suggests that the implementation has been quite uneven with regard to these matters.[17] Federal administrative challenges and court actions have charged discrimination and misuse in some programs. This is evidenced by local communities who do not provide equal opportunity to low and moderate-income families who are black, by assistance that is not provided on an equal basis to minority areas, by programs that provide insufficient opportunity for citizen participation, and by programs that give inadequate attention to housing and neighborhoods needs while money is spent on items of non-specific benefit (i. e., city-wide swimming pools). There is also evidence of discrimination in connection with jobs associated with the program. The local program experience in Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and other cities are only highly publicized examples which highlight widespread and serious violations of the Congressional mandate by local officials.[18]

The Community Development Block Grant program represents a flexible resource for responding to the needs of local low and moderate-income families, yet it has been uneven in realizing this potential. Part of its shortcomings can be explained by discrimination. Another part can be explained by inadequate local capacity -- an especially troublesome observation because the current program mandates cities to undertake activities that are familiar to them. Their only task is to create the delivery mechanism and to design programs to respond to local contextual issues.

The uneven experience with CDBG should give pause to those who would suggest that local government be given additional new responsibility to use block grants to carry out activities in pursuit of national goals such as housing assistance.

Recent housing subsidy programs (mainly Section 8 New Construction) have likewise been found wanting. Critics argue on the one hand that they are too expensive and cover too few of the needy.[19] On the other hand, critics argue that the housing is difficult to site and that it fails to encourage mobility or to provide locational choices for the poor. (The Section 8 Existing Program that provides a rent supplement type assistance is viewed more positively on these points). Public housing, much more than Section 8 New Construction, reaches the poor, but siting and especially its expense have drastically reduced the construction volume.

In addition, recent Congressional action narrowly avoided direct-ing the Section 8 New Construction program away from low and moderate-income families and toward a shallow subsidy for middle-income families. Other proposed changes would have resulted in less construction in the cities' older neighborhoods and more construction on the city fringes. These changes were proposed to increase (or to hold constant) construction volume, to make the program more responsive to market trends, and in the long run make it less dependent on deep subsidies. The thrust of these changes would have been to reduce the number of units that get built in black areas. In the absence of strong affirmative marketing programs, which to this point are rarely implemented, they would limit the benefit minority families obtain from the program.

III. THE CHANGING CONTEXT FOR RESPONDING TO HOUSING NEED

The housing situation that blacks experience, as outlined here, is not new. What is new is the context within which solutions to these problems have to be addressed. In some cases, the changes are dramatic and possibly permanent, such that the national administration has to address itself not just to a stronger commitment to decent and affordable housing for all Americans, but to new policy choices as well.

A. The Economy

Housing has never been protected from downturns in the economy. When economic decline comes, housing and construction suffer disproportionately. When the economy recovers, especially if accompanied or threatened by high inflation, the cooling off of the economy often takes the form of increases in the interest rate.[20] The current high interest rates raise the cost of housing and combine with periodic shortages of mortgage capital to reduce construction volume and discourage housing investment and rehabilitation.

There is a growing disinclination to provide special relief to housing (In the past modest efforts were made to encourage construction when the economy experienced a serious downturn). As a result of cyclical instability in the housing area, it has been difficult to sustain efforts to achieve housing production goals. Nothing on the economic horizon suggests there will soon be a change in this fact. Indeed, the increasingly close relationship of housing finance to the operation of capital markets suggests high rates for a long time to come as well as more competition for capital with other sectors of the economy. While new mortgage instruments may make capital availability more stable, it will not be good news for the consumer who will have to pay a larger share of his income to meet the interest payments associated with more expensive mortgages. While social and demographic factors to some extent, may offset the bite (i.e., middle-income, two-earner households may be able to afford a larger housing payment without suffering), this will be of limited help for black families who, even if they are middle income, require the two incomes to make it to the threshold of middle-class status. As Table 3 shows, and contrary to a new and popular conventional wisdom, there has been little change in the class alignment among blacks and between blacks and whites.[21] The housing price inflation is serious for everyone, but for the white middle-class it may mean only a reduction in discretionary income, while for blacks aspiring to improved housing, the increased cost is met at the expense of other needs, if met at all.

B. Regulation Process

There are several recent events which highlight changes in the regulatory climate related to housing. First, there is deregulation in the lending industry. This is reflected not only in rulings from the Federal Reserve and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, but in Congressional legislation as well.[22] Second, federal laws requiring increased reinvestment in urban communities are being enforced.[23] Third, there are increasingly numerous battles between local communities and developers over regulations which restrict development. At present, local governments score more victories. Finally, there appears to be no inclination on the part of the Congress to increase the regulatory authority associated with the enforcement of civil rights goals. Recent efforts to amend fair housing laws failed in the Senate. This occurred despite the acknowledged fact that discrimination still exists and in subtle ways that are difficult to fight.

The net result of these trends is not yet clear. Further changes, no doubt, will be forthcoming from a new administration bent on reducing government regulations. However, the thrust of the changes to date is not altogether favorable to consumers generally or to blacks in particular. They offer no breakthroughs on the problems we have discussed in this paper, and may even reduce leverage previously gained. Regulatory trends seem clearly to be headed toward increasing the discretion of private sector actors rather than the use of regulation as a tool for supporting or achieving social goals.

C. Local Government Resources and Capacity

Success at improving residential environments is substantially a matter of local capacity. Federal dollars are important resources but the local organizational resources and delivery mechanisms are equally critical. All of the services that local governments provide contribute to the creation of residential environments. As such, the financial and management health of cities is critical.

Observers are in agreement that whatever the pace of residential and economic reinvestment is, big cities are in serious financial trouble. The near fiscal collapse of New York, Cleveland, Newark, Chicago, and other cities, are extreme and highly publicized examples of the more serious problems most large older cities face. In the face of the fiscal crisis, cities are forced to reduce services at a time when demands on those services and the need to repair or replace infra-structure, and the number of vetoes (from unions, neighborhood groups, etc.) that can be applied to any solution, are increasing. Tax and spending limitations passed by the voters as well as high interest rates limit their ability to get additional operating or capital resources. The growing difficulties in this area restrict the ability of cities to perform the services needed to improve neighborhood environments. The critical catalytic role public improvements can play is compromised and may discourage private investment. Homeowners and investors may be reluctant to invest in their property when the public infra-structure and services are declining. Lenders are likewise concerned that they may see new investment rapidly lose value.

Just as the federal government proposes to give increased responsibility to design, implement, and manage housing development and services programs, cities are forced to cut back and reduce their flexibility. Just as joint venture between the public and private sector seems to be more possible, the capacity of government to play its critical role is reduced. Just as blacks begin to attain some presence in local government, they find more and more groups able and willing to exercise vetoes and to reduce the ability of government to act.[24]

The net result of these trends is that local government may be less able (and perhaps less willing) to take on the challenge of increased local responsibility. If the federal government retreats on programs to meet the needs of low and moderate-income communities and local governments are not able to take up the challenge, it may be that there is no one to provide the direction and leadership to tackle the issues raised by the conditions in black communities.

D. The Rightward Drift in Political Leadership

Throughout our history there has been a conflict between liberty and justice. Both are embodied in our history and in our Constitution. Liberty stresses the supremacy of private property and limitations on regulations placed on the use or deposition of private property.[25]

Justice proceeds from a commitment to advancing public welfare and assisting those least well-off through a redistribution of the common wealth.[26] It recognizes that there is a certain economic dividend produced by what the government and society permit. This dividend makes some people better off than others. Government's role is to influence the nature of the dividend and its allocation to favor those least well-off.

Black (and liberal) perspectives on public policy proceed more often from this notion of justice than liberty. In recent American history, especially since the Depression, the federal government has focused on advancing justice with some concession to the still powerful urgings to liberty.

One interpretation of the recent election is that the electoral outcome is in part a reaction against justice-seeking public policy in housing and neighborhoods. By this interpretation, there is a threat to justice-seeking aspects of fair housing, suburban access, housing subsidies, rent control, and efforts to minimize displacement.

There is another view of the election as it affects housing and related policies. This second interpretation suggests that the election reflects not so much a rightward drift, as a reaction against the current economic situation and an emergence of a belief that government is not strong but big, that it is intrusive but not effective, that it is omniscient but impotent. Strong, effective and consistent pursuit of widely shared goals may still be preferred by the American people including housing groups. Ideology may be less important than the perception about the potential for effectiveness of given policies.

Blacks share the frustration of other citizens with the current economic difficulties. As for where the frustration leads policy in 1981, blacks are ambivalent. There is the feeling on the one hand that blacks should support existing programs which have produced some positive results, while on the other hand, there is a feeling new approaches are required to make major advances in the 1980s. There is also a feeling that blacks should stick with the known policies rather than launch into strangely different ones led by new, if not unfriendly, leaders.

Blacks do not resist a scrutiny of policies so long as the preamble to such a review is a strong commitment to achieving the goals of equal opportunity, a decent home and a suitable neighborhood environment.

IV. POLICIES FOR THE EIGHTIES

It is not appropriate in this paper to make specific suggestions. The range of issues to be covered by a concern for housing and neighborhood development would require more space than is available. What we do, however, is to outline some of the areas of housing and community development policy where there are critical questions and hard choices.

A. Housing Finance

In housing finance, the critical question is whether capital for mortgages will be available at affordable terms for low and moderate-income families? The current drift is toward fewer and fewer such families being able to afford to buy homes. A related question is whether programs, such as Section 235, will be available to assist the poor, who currently are priced out of the private market. In the past, the poor have not been excluded from homeownership, yet the present trend is clearly in that direction.

B. Rental Housing

One of the recent events of major significance has been the substantial reduction in the level of investment in rental housing and in some cities the absolute decline in the rental stock as a result of both reinvestment leading to condominium conversion and disinvestment leading to abandonment. Almost 40% of all households and a majority of black households still rely on rental housing. The question here is whether the government policies relating to tax, regulation, and program administration will take appropriate action to encourage investment in rental housing and to protect existing investors who want to remain in that activity. There is also a question of whether the federal government will continue to play a role in subsidized housing production -- production required to meet supply needs even if the more direct forms of assistance are provided to make housing affordable.

C. Reinvestment Displacement

It is well documented that displacement is occurring as a consequence of urban reinvestment. Some actors look upon displacement as a solution (to the problem of disinvestment, abandonment, the concentration of the poor, low tax revenues, etc.) rather than as a problem. Yet, in cities where reinvestment is more advanced, it seriously undermines the ability of low and moderate-income families to obtain decent and affordable housing.

Displacement could be reduced if local governments were to adopt development and management policies which had as their goal the spreading of reinvestment activity rather than its concentration. This necessarily involves looking for ways to promote reinvestment by and on behalf of lower and moderate-income families. Numerous documented efforts around the country show that this is neither inconsistent with good reinvestment policy, nor impossible.[27] All things being equal, black communities are as good a target for this as any other community.

D. Housing Assistance

The question here is what form government assistance to the poor will take. Various evaluations have identified problems with existing programs and approaches. Suggestions have been offered that perhaps we should move toward some kind of housing allowance or voucher system.

The housing allowance experiments point to some clear advantages to this approach.[28] One specific advantage related to blacks is that the problem of project siting would be reduced. Direct payments to clients would also giver greater freedom to individuals to make their own location decisions. This assumes, of course, that a program is funded at a reasonable level, that construction programs produce private housing opportunities in a variety of locations, and that fair housing laws are enforced.

Even with direct assistance production programs would be needed. The current Section 8 program works but at great cost. One suggestion for getting around the federal burden of expensive programs and to produce the maximum in location discretion is the use of the block grant approach. Local government would be given a block of money to provide for housing needs including production needs. Any analysis of the merit of this approach revolves around the question of whether local governments are capable of assuming full responsibility for production programs, and second, whether they are interested. Local governments have not been very interested in developing extensive local housing programs, citing both the technical and legal problems of the long-term financial commitments housing production programs require as well as competing priorities for capital. Second, many cities have had difficulty in developing delivery mechanisms that efficiently deliver housing services. This is also evidenced by the problems big cities have with public housing. Some cities have stayed away from major housing programs altogether, others have contracted housing elements of their programs to private agencies or developers, and still others are struggling with one bureaucratic effort after another without noticeable success.[29]

These experiences, however, are only suggestive and are far from conclusive, which means to us that there ought to be great caution in making substantial changes in housing proudction approaches, especially ones that rely on local government for design, implementation and management.

E. The Income Tax System

There is a substantial federal subsidy in the federal income tax system. This subsidy, in the form of a tax credit, is estimated at better than $25 billion for 1979, more than ten times the $2.4 billion subsidy provided in federal housing programs. This tax subsidy mainly goes to middle-income homeowners, not to renters and not to home owners who file for a standard deduction (mostly low-income owners).[30] Tax reform is an area of substantial opportunity for redistributing the housing benefits and for promoting opportunity. The question here is: Shall we retain our present system which helps mainly well-off homeowners or do we switch to another system -- a tax credit for example -- where low-income owners would benefit? There is a similar question whether incentives in the tax system can be designed to encourage families to save for home purchase.

F. Triage

In our largest cities, there are more housing units than there are people. This is a result of the fact that most of our older cities reached their peak population between 1940 and 1960, and have been losing population since that time. While some cities have experienced an increase in the number of households, this is rarely distributed in such a way as to efficiently absorb the housing units available, leading to, on the one hand, housing shortages in some local submarkets, and vacancies and abandonment in others.

Our present policies allow the market to be the judge for what neighborhoods decline and what housing units are abandoned. Yet a combination of neglect, poor or misdirected policy, and ineffective market structures makes the process indiscriminate. Abandonment and decay hit both good and bad housing, including good housing in poor neighborhoods. Blight left alone is like a cancer that infects weak tissue and spreads to healthy tissue as it gains momentum. Because of disinvestment, black areas are hit particularly hard by this process. We face the question, therefore: How do we manage urban adjustments (to excess housing) in a humane way that protects people and conserves necessary housing stock? At the local level and at the national level, this has been an issue about which little has been articulated in public, yet privately there are strategies which allow certain areas to be overcome with this decline while resources are directed to other areas where it is felt dollars would be best invested.[31] Families suffer in the meantime and excessive losses to the housing stock occur because the areas are not chosen systematically.

G. Cities, Suburbs and Regions

Access to suburban housing and jobs is still an unfinished agenda item for black Americans. The access issue calls our attention not only to efforts to improve the affordability of existing housing, but to create affordable housing opportunities in the newer suburbs through the vigorous enforcement of fair housing laws, the elimination of exclusionary zoning, and the construction of subsidized housing units.

Older suburban communities also deserve attention both in terms of housing and community development. These are the areas where most blacks who move to the suburbs have settled in recent years and where many who will move to suburbia will settle. These older communities experience problems similar to those in central cities -- declining population, aging infra-structure,loss of jobs, and declining tax base.[32] There are several of these older suburbs around each major metropolitan area -- from Prince Georges (MD.) and Yonkers (NY) to Pasadena and Oakland (CA.).

Finally, there is no region of the country where the concerns discussed in this paper are not relevant. The frostbelt-sunbelt distinctions so widely discussed with respect to federal assistance policies and regional development are not essential issues to blacks since the black population is split roughly in half between the sunbelt and the frostbelt. There is a concern, however, that funds be targeted to areas of need since not all communities have equally critical problems in housing and neighborhood development. Giving assistance to all communities by entitlement without attempting to target those funds to areas of substantial real need is both inefficient and a disservice to the goals the programs attempt to achieve.

V. CONCLUSION

The way whites look at public policy with respect to concerns of race, and in some cases the way blacks look at these issues, will relate to whether the observer feels the different life outcomes between whites and blacks is a consequence of class or racial differences.[33] Those with a class perspective argue that blacks have made great economic, social and political progress in recent years and the remaining problems are more a matter of class status than of race. These observers argue further that more might be accomplished for blacks if attention were focused on these class issues rather than on racial issues. Those who view the situation this way are not limited to conservatives but include a number of liberals who have grown tired of racial battles or who have an ideological perspective which is compatible with an emphasis on class issues.

The other position asserts that while economic status is clearly important, that race still makes a significant, enduring and independent contribution to the different outcomes blacks and whites experience. This position argues further that the enforcement of civil rights laws and affirmative action regulations as well as consciousness of racially different impacts of our public policies are important for closing the gap between the races.

We believe that the evidence in housing and neighborhood development supports the latter view.[34] The 1978 HUD report shows that blacks still experience a great deal of discrimination such that at each income level there is more segregation than would be predicted based either on the distribution of incomes between blacks and whites or the distribution of prices or rents in the metropolitan housing markets. There has been some increased access to suburbia to be sure. But this more often reflects a resegregation of blacks into a larger number of enclaves rather than genuine integration. While widespread violence occurs less often, more subtle and systematic practices exist, challenging both regulatory and legal remedies currently in place. While whites express more opposition to racial exclusion in housing than was the case, say, 20 years ago, there is substantial, and some suggest growing, resistance to taking affirmative steps to decrease negative racial impacts.[35]

While some very significant housing issues might best be articulated from a class or income group perspective (i.e., the cost of housing or the availability of rental stock) and there may be tactical reasons for highlighting class as opposed to race, it would be unwise to suggest or to act on the notion that blacks and whites of the same class will have similar experiences in the housing market.

We strongly believe that the special concerns and problems of blacks should continue to be given special attention and that appropriate remedies to deal with these different effects continue to be available.

Blacks are still at a substantial disadvantage when it comes to housing opportunities and neighborhood environments. Forces long unsympathetic to blacks as well as disillusioned friends have taken comfort in the impotence of past policies as an excuse for not designing better ones and indeed for arguing that the small progress made to date may in fact be sufficient attention to blacks. They offer instead the panacea of the "strong economy" which we know from past experience does not always filter down its benefits to the less well off. There is no basis for confidence that the experience in the 1980's will be different.

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Footnotes

[1] See Robert Schafer and Helen Ladd, Equal Credit Opportunity in Mortgage Lending: Summary of Results. Working Paper #65. (Cambridge: Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University, 1980).

[2] See K. P. Nelson, Recent Suburbanization of Blacks: How Much, Who and Where. A report prepared for the Department of Housing and Urban Development as part of the Annual Housing Survey Series, February, 1979.

[3] For a discussion of the ecology of blacks in the suburbs, see Phillip L. Clay, "The Process of Black Suburbanization", Urban Affairs Quarterly, (June, 1979), 405-23.

[4] For a discussion of "gentrification," see generally S.B. Laska and Daphne Spain (eds.) Back-to-the-City. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1979). See especially Part One and Part Two. Also see Phillip L. Clay, Neighborhood Renewal (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1979), Chapter 2.

[5] For an early report, see George and Eunice Grier, Urban Displacement: A Reconnaissance. A report prepared for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1978.

[6] See Phillip L. Clay, Neighborhood Renewal, Chapter 4.

[7] See J. Thomas Black, "Private-Market Housing Renovation in Central Cities: An Urban Land Institute Survey," in Laska and Spain (eds.) Back-to-the-City, 3-12.

[8] Le Droit Park in Washington, D. C, is an exception to this general proposition.

[9] While the exact number of displaced households is not known, there is considerable variation, from San Francisco, Washington, and Chicago, where there is extensive displacement, to Detroit, Cleveland, and Newark, where there is very little. Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis are somewhere in the middle.

[10] For an excellent discussion of the relation of housing production to housing demand issues, see Franklin James, Back to the City: An Appraisal of Housing Investment and Population Change in Urban America, The Urban Institute, Working Paper 0241-01, June 1977.

11.
The annual loss is estimated at about 500,000 units during the 1970s. The highest production of subsidized units was in the early 1970s before the Nixon moratorium and never exceeded about 400,000 units.

12.
A detailed discussion of the state of rental housing is summarized in U.S. General Accounting Office, Rental Housing: A National Problem That Needs Immediate Attention. (Washington: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1979).

13.
Ibid., p.12.

14.
The results of a 40-city survey of housing market practices are reported in Ronald Wienk, et. al. Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets: The Housing Market Practices Survey. (Washington: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), Chapters 2 and 3.

15.
The proposed Fair Housing Amendments of 1980 were designed to give stronger administrative powers to HUD to combat discrimination by amending the Title 8 of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The Amendment were defeated by the Senate after having been approved by the House.

16.
The HUD position on the displacement issue is expressed in Office of Policy Development and Research, Displacement Report. (Washington: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979).

17.
For some discussion and evaluation of the block grant programs, see Department of Housing and Urban Development, Fourth Annual Community Development Block Grant Report. (Washington: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), especially Chapters 2 and 3. For a look at the program from an advocates perspective, see "The Working Group for Community Development Reform, Monitoring Community Development. (Washington: The Working Group, 1980), pp. 29-44.

18.
These cases all illustrate successful legal challenges to the expenditure of block grant funds because of racial discrimination in the administration of the program or related city functions.

19.
For comparative analysis of program costs, see Congressional Budget Office, The Long Term Costs of Lower Income Housing Assistance Programs. (Washington: The Congress of the United States, 1979), 39-46.

20.
For a discussion of the role of housing in economic and monetary policy,

see Thomas Cooley and Carol Corrado, Competing Goals of Stabilization Policy: A Reassessment of Policies Towards Housing. Working Paper #53. (Cambridge: Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University, 1978), 1-14.

21.
According to BLS data, black median income was 57% of white median income in 1979. This is down from 62% in 1975. The gap is nearest to being closed for husband-and-wife families, but only because more black wives are in the labor force than white wives.

22.
Numerous regulations expand the range of services that saving and loan associations can perform, allow greater competition, and permit new mortgage instruments. Various legislation to become effective over the next several years will remove additional restrictions on what lenders can do.

23.
The Community Reinvestment Act of 1978 requires that financial institutions act to meet the credit needs of their service areas.

24.
Many cities are experiencing a fiscal crisis. For a discussion of the problem and its meaning for service levels, see the Department of Housing and Urban Development, The President's National Urban Policy Report. (Washington: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1980), Chapter 6.

25.
For an exposition of this perspective, see Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). For a more contemporary application, see Nathan Glazer, Affirmative Discrimination. (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 130-66.

26.
For a general discussion of this idea, see John Rawls, A Theory of Justice. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 3-52. For a discussion of these ideas applied to housing issues, see Anthony Downs, Opening Up the Suburbs. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

27.
For a discussion of local strategies, see Phillip L. Clay, "Managing the Urban Reinvestment Process," Journal of Housing. (October 1979) 453-58.

28.
For an analysis of the housing allowance experiment, see Bernard J. Frieden, "Housing Allowance: An Experiment that Worked," Public Interest (Spring, 1980), 15-35.

29.
For a discussion of local housing and neighborhood programs, including cost data and administrative comparisions, see Department of Housing and Urban Development, Designing Rehab Programs. (Washington: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979), Chapters 1, 3, and Appendix C.

30.
The present and prospective role of the tax system is spelled out in Rolf Goetze, "Federal Tax Expenditures Should be Restructured to Aid Urban Housing," Journal of Housing, (October, 1980), 504-12.

31.
See, Neighborhood Development Agency (Boston), Dividing the Pie: Resource Allocation to Urban Neighborhoods. A report prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, November, 1980.

32.
For an extensive discussion of suburban communities in which blacks settle, see Harold Rose, Black Suburbanization. (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976).

33.
For a debate on this question between Dr. Kenneth Clark and Carl Gershman, see the Sunday New York Times Magazine, (October 5, 1980), p. 22.

34.
See Wienk, et al, Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets, Chapter 5.

35.
For an analysis of trends in racial attitudes housing patterns, see Thomas Pettigrew, "Racial Change and Intrametropolitan Distribution of Black Americans," in A.P. Solomon (ed.) The Prospective City. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), 52-79.

Table I

Blacks as a Percent of Total Population
Inside and Outside Metropolitan Areas
by Size of Metropolitan Areas:
1960, 1970 and 1975

	1960	1970	1975
Total United States	10.6	11.1	11.3
Metropolitan Areas	10.7	11.9	12.5
Central Cities	16.4	20.5	22.6
1 Million or More	18.8	25.2	27.6
Less than 1 Million	13.2	14.9	16.8
Suburbs	4.8	4.6	5.0
1 Million or More	4.0	4.5	5.1
Less than 1 Million	5.9	4.8	4.8
Nonmetropolitan Areas	10.3	9.1	8.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, various reports, 1960, 1970, 1975.

Table 2

Metropolitan Population in the U. S. by Race, 1970-78
(thousands)

Race	Location	Population 1978	Population 1970	Numerical Change	Percent Change
White	Total Metropolitan	121,650	118,938	2713	2.3
	Central Cities	44,551	48,909	-4398	-9.0
	Suburban Areas	77,140	70.029	7111	10.2
Black	Total Metropolitan	18,463	16,342	2121	13.0
	Central Cities	13,687	12,909	778	6.0
	Suburban Areas	4,776	3,433	1343	39.1

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Population Profile of the U.S.: 1978," Series p-20, #336, April 1979, Table 19.

Table 3
Income Distribution of Families in Constant (1977) Dollars by Race. 1967-1977

Black Families	1967	1970	1974	1975	1976	1977
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Middle and Upper Income	22	28	30	29	8	9
$25,000 and over	5	7	8	8	8	9
$15-24,999	17	21	22	22	23	21
Moderate Income	39	37	35	35	33	33
$12-14,999	11	11	11	11	11	10
$10-11,999	10	9	9	9	8	8
$ 7-9,999	18	17	16	14	15	15
Low-Income	40	35	35	36	36	37
$3-6,999	13	11	12	12	12	12
$3-4,999	14	12	13	14	15	14
Under $3,000	12	11	10	10	9	10
White Families						
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Middle and Upper	50	54	56	54	56	57
$25,000 and over	16	19	23	21	22	24
$15-24,999	34	35	33	33	34	33
Moderate Income	35	31	30	31	30	29
$12-14,999	15	13	13	12	12	12
$10-11,999	9	8	8	8	8	7
$ 7-9,999	11	10	10	11	11	11
Low Income	16	15	14	15	14	14
$ 5-6,999	6	6	6	7	7	7
$ 3-4,999	6	5	4	5	5	5
Under $3,000	4	4	3	3	3	3

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from date in U. S. Bureau of the Census Current Populations Reports. "Money, Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the U. S., 1977." Series P-60 No. 116 (Advance Report).

HEALTH ISSUES FOR THE EIGHTIES

By

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I. INTRODUCTION

As we stand at the threshold of this new decade and survey those problems and developments that extend before us in the health arena, we are reminded of another place and time and of one who stood at the entrance to this century and remarked that "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." Not too long after the prophetic Dr. W.E.B. DuBois uttered that truism, another "prophet" spoke these words:

> The medical care of the negro (sic) race will never be wholly left to the negro physicians. Nevertheless, if the negro can be brought to feel a sharp responsibility for the physical integrity of his people, the outlook for their mental and moral improvement will be distinctly brightened. The practice of the negro doctor will be limited to his own race, which in turn will be cared for better by good negro physicians than by poor white ones.[1]

From these two vastly different thinkers, we can deduce a historical correlation regarding our health care system: like every other area in our lives, health care will be affected by racial differences and racism and, secondly, the health care system itself will respond differently to the minority community (collectively and individually) than to the white community

That DuBois' words were prophetic is easily seen in retrospect some 75 years later. That Flexner's words also carried a ring of prophecy concerning, not only the medical education of blacks, but also, health care delivery for blacks also can be seen, particularly in the most recent decade. This paper on "Health Issues for the Eighties" will attempt to establish a historical, yet contemporary context for the health system itself, to project some scenarios for the eighties, to point to the possible issues arising from these scenarios, and, finally to set forth some items for action.

II. THE SEVENTIES AND PRE-SEVENTIES ENVIRONMENT

A. People

From the mid-sixties through the mid-to-late seventies, there were over 75 separate items of federal legislation directed towards providing greater access to basic health services for the disadvantaged.[2] The philosophy underlying the legislation posited that there was a connection between health and poverty and if access to health services were improved, then this would lead to an improved health status which (with other federal programs) would help the poor to break out of their poverty. The acid test, however, is not the amount of legislation passed, but by the effect of such legislation - if any - on the people.

In a detailed and scholarly look at the health status indicators for the black population by Dr. William A. Darity and Mr. Edward W. Pitt in The State of Black America-1979 it was reported that key indices such as infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, and life expectancy did indicate some improvement over past rates for blacks. However, when the improvement of the status of the health of blacks relative to the improvements for whites was examined through the use of differential deficit ratios, there was an indication that little, if any, relative improvement had been made, or alternatively, that blacks were in a relatively worse off position than they were earlier.[3]

The implication of these figures indicates that the good legislative intentions of the 75+ legislative bills have not resulted in dramatic improvements in the health status of blacks.

B. Policies

The original philosophical emphasis undergirding the large number of social programs of the sixties was the "War on Poverty" of the Johnson presidency which sought to reduce the number of persons bound by poverty through the creation of federal programs to attack the conditions of poverty. Increasing access to health care was a central concern and was promoted through the passage of legislation such as Medicaid, the Comprehensive Health Planning Act, and the Community Health Centers Act in the sixties. Indeed, such a philosophy was still active in the seventies even if many of the programs were being dismantled or were under funded. As Kosa states:

> One characteristic of the disadvantaged is their lack of some of the privileges of life as defined by prevailing standards. These privileges include "access to health, wholesomeness and all these services that promote a healthy way of living."[4]

This premise is reinforced in a Department of Health, Education and Welfare study that gives substance to Kosa's claim. It states:

> Throughout history, the underprivileged classes have been limited to inferior health services at best, while the privileged have had access to a higher quality health care.[5]

After the passing of the Johnson Administration, a Republican Administration inherited the remaining "artillery" from the War on Poverty. But rather than pursuing the necessary fight, the Nixon/Ford Administration responded with the attitude of "benign neglect." The war machinery was dismantled either by program expiration, reorganization, or under funding. The impact of this at the national and local levels was a chaotic fumbling resulting in lost opportunities.

In the case of Neighborhood Family care centers, for example, the original federal legislation called for 1,000 centers serving 25 million low income persons. Nationally, the program funded a maximum of 160 centers which served approximately 1½ million persons falling far short of its original goals.[6]

As an example of how this impacted at the local level, the original ambulatory care long range plans developed in the late sixties and early seventies for Neighborhood Health Centers in New York City called for approximately 10-15 new centers to be opened in disadvantaged neighborhoods in the five boroughs. By 1975, there were only about half a dozen opened in the city, two of which were standing empty and all of which were operating below originally projected utilization levels.

Replacing benign neglect was a Democratic administration pledged to be responsive to the needs of minorities. Unfortunately, the Carter Administration fell prey to several phenomena which led to a different type of response than the minority community had expected. Because of the combined impact of sustained double digit inflation, high enployment and a drain on national energy resources, Carter chose a policy of conservatism, which in the health sector translated to the rationing of health care resources. The reasoning was fairly simple: costs in the health industry were generally rising far faster than costs in the other sectors of the economy, therefore, curtailed spending in the health sector was the solution.

This rationing impetus in the health area stems in part from the tremendous rise in national health expenditures with rapidly escalating rates for the most recent years. For instance, in the past, it took ten years for the national health expenditure to double (i.e. from 1950 to 1960 the amount of expenditure went from $12 billion to $25.9 billion). However, in the seventies the national health expenditure has doubled in five years (i. e. 1974 $106 billion to 1979 $212 billion).[7]

The policy of rationing was attempted with federal legislation through the Carter Administration's Cost Containment bill which was defeated twice by strong lobbying from health sector special interest groups. However, there were still attempts to ration health care by regulatory means. By implementing regulations which reduced hospitals' ability to be adequately reimbursed for services rendered, the government forces hospitals to ration care to their patients.* Rationing and the other previous policies have had a significant negative effect on the resources available to minority communities.

C. Resources

Health resources for minority community residents have not been available in the types and amounts needed to impact their health care substantially. As was pointed out in the Darity and Pitt paper, blacks and minorities will need many more resources and services if they are to achieve parity with the health status levels of white Americans. However, black parity can only come through a greater targeting of resources towards meeting the health needs of black Americans.

As we look at resources for health services, we have seen a tremendous increase, nationally. For example in the supply of acute care beds there are 100,000 to 130,000 estimated excess beds. These beds are the object of health planning agency efforts to reduce acute care beds at the local level.[8] These reductions, however, have occurred most often in minority community areas which can least afford them.

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*Note: Regulations or proposed regulations such as the mandated routine service cost reductions and reimbursement of physicians in teaching hospitals are some examples of regulations which bring about rationing of care.

The shortage of resources is also reflected by Dr. Alan Sager, a researcher at Brandeis University, who has concluded in his 40-year study on hospital closings that the racial composition of a hospital's neighborhood and not economic conditions tended to determine whether a hospital was closed or relocated. As the neighborhood's proportion of black citizens increased, local hospitals tended to close or relocate to the suburbs.[9] This is the case inspite of the long known fact that many blacks use the emergency room of inner-city hospitals as their private physician.

Presently there are projections of a surplus of physicians for the 1990's. The federal government is now encouraging medical schools to cut back their freshman classes so that the numbers of future physicians can be reduced.

However, if we look at the black community we see that many of the 27 million people who live in the primary care manpower shortage areas are minorities. These inner-city communities stand in need of sensitive well-trained manpower who could serve in these areas of critical need -- hospitals and health centers. This is true particularly for neighborhood health centers when we realize that 80% of those who utilize them are minorities.[10]

A recent examination of access to health care professions shows that gains made in recruitment drives in the sixties and early seventies have either leveled off or have been eroded. Therefore, we don't have enough of the manpower resources with the needed sensitivity and willingness to serve in the minority communities. Even the National Health Service Corps which was expanded to place physicians in inner city areas is now unsure if the funds will be available to do this.

III. THE HEALTH SYSTEM: WHAT IT IS AND ISN'T

A system is defined as an integrated assembly of specialized parts acting together for a common purpose. A "health system" is one where the specialized parts act together for the common purpose of promoting, maintaining and restoring health. Our present system of health care, however, focuses on the care rather than on a "health system" thus elements such as health promotion, education, and preventive activities get less attention and less dollars than treatment-centered activities. An example is our financing of health services which will usually pay for the treatment of disease, but not for those activities which are preventative in nature (e.g. immunizations and annual check-ups).

In looking at the people (health status), the policies and the resources for health delivery to the black and minority community we have seen that the "system" has been less than effective in having a positive impact on health status; the policies sometimes have and sometimes have not addressed the health needs and problems; and the resources have never seemed to be enough. But it is important to also note that while for some, the health system doesn't work very well, for others, it represents the best health care system in the world.

The essence of the United States health care system is its free enterprise character. The basic interaction and locus of exchange have, historically, been the doctor-patient relationship. At the heart of this relationship is an economic transaction between doctor and patient where the patient with a perceived or actual medical problem pays the doctor for a service or set of services to treat and/or cure the medical problem. For this economic transaction, the doctor derives his/her livelihood. Even though this basic relationship may be made more complex by introducing third-party payors such as Blue Cross and physician extenders* and hospitals, the fundamental notion still holds.

Economic logic dictates that with the original relationship, the person who has money can buy services from the physician and the more money one has, the more services one can buy. On the other hand, since the physician derives his/her income from this transaction, we might assume that the physician would attempt to maximize the income available through the transaction.

In large measure this is what happens today although on a more complicated level. However, the system operates under an assumption of patient resources. Specifically, if the patient does not have resources (cash or insurance) or has insufficient resources, the "system" responds accordingly: no services provided, or not enough provided to some people. This situation may give the appearance that the system is not working; but actually, it's working exactly as it was meant to work--giving care in exchange for financial resources.

Of importance to note is that in the microcosm of the doctor/patient relationship, what we have is not a "health system" but a system that manages (or hopefully cures) illness since at the point of exchange the patient is ill. The more illness to be managed, the more financial resources are needed for the transaction. Ironically, blacks usually bring to this transaction more illness and less resources.[11]

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*Note: Physician extenders are persons that perform some of the routine duties that a physician previously performed so that the physician has more time for the complex and sophisticated activities that only he/she can do.

There is ample information to document the existence of racism in the health care system.[12, 13, 14, 15, 16] However, because of the central economic nature of the doctor/patient relationship, the health system is subject to economic bias as well. That is to say that those with more financial resources can buy more management of their illness. But the health system itself does not see this as a bias, and really will not since it accepts the distribution of financial resources across the total population as an immutable fact.

The notion of economic bias thus will arise depending on the assumption one makes about health care: whether it is a right or a privilege of the citizenry.

Another perspective of the economic bias can be seen when we examine the health system as an employer of people.

> The inequalities between the professional and worker strata of the health industry illustrate a cardinal feature of American capitalism. The low pay and prestige, absence of job security, rapid turnover, and indications of high levels of job alienation among workers reflect the operations of the dual labor market. The labor market is divided into two essentially distinct sectors, termed primary and secondary sectors. The former offers jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, chances of advancement, equity and due process in the administration of work rates and, above all, employment stability. Jobs in the secondary sector, by contrast, tend to be low paying, with poorer working conditions and little chance for advancement;...and with considerable instability in jobs and a high turnover among the labor force.[17]

In the aforementioned study of persons employed in selected health professions in the U. S., the largest category by far for blacks was the "nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants" category—the "secondary sector represented 53% of all blacks employed in health occupations as constrasted to 22% of the whites employed in this field.[18]

Only 3% of all blacks employed in the health area were in the higher paying, prestigious and more stable jobs while 20% of whites were in these jobs.

We can see, therefore, that simultaneously the U. S. health care system can be one of the best health care systems in the world, or one of the worst, depending upon one's ability to pay. It can and has discriminated in its delivery of services on the basis of race. Additionally, the dichotomy extends to the U.S. health care system as an employer. It can be both a financially rewarding and penny-pinching employer.

Clearly the historical correlation can be seen in the contemporary operation of our health care system. Just as clearly seen is the need for changing the health care system. While some may argue (understandably) for immediate sweeping reforms, a pragmatic survey of the political spectrum reveals that improvements in the health spectrum will be incremental and evoluntionary--short of some other radical alteration in the governmental structure.

The recent change of administration in the executive branch of government may provide the climate for this type of evolutionary, incremental changes in the health system over this next decade.

IV: THE ENVIRONMENT AND ISSUES FOR THE EIGHTIES

Based on previous activity in the health field, it is possible to make some predictions as to what we may expect in the eighties.

A. People

There are areas in the health status of black people that have been improving during the third quarter of this century. For example, if the pneumonia and influenza improvements continue at the same rate, the differentials between blacks and whites should close in another 10 to 20 years.[19] For other health indices where the gap between black and white differentials has widened during the century (e.g. cancer, diabetes, hypertension) special efforts will be required.

Continued improvement in health indices at the same rate, however, assumes continued (if not increased) availability and accessibility of previous services. This may not be the case if continued budgetary constraints are imposed on the health sector.

Additionally, there are resurgent trends in tuberculosis and drug abuse areas that seemed to be coming under control in the past. But old problems are raising their heads; for example, Washington, D. C. now has the highest tuberculosis rate of any American city of comparable size and four times the national average.[20]

B. Policies

In order to project likely policies for the decade ahead, we must be cognizant of the mood of the White House and of Congress. President-elect Reagan, if he follows health policy initiatives similar to those he held as governor of California, will most likely attempt to control federal health expenditures by controlling Medicaid expenses.

As governor of California, Reagan withdrew several Medicaid benefits, ordered an across-the-board cut in medical and nursing home fees covered under Medicaid, and instituted a rule requiring prior state approval for a number of hospital services for Medicaid patients.[21] This reduced California Medicaid expenditures but also cut the amount of services available to the poor.

Since Reagan has stated a strong preference for letting states solve their own social problems, we might expect a reduction of direct aid targeted to cities—even though this aid will be crucial for combatting the cities' worsening health problems.

There is likewise a preference for promoting competition in the health sector, which is thought to encourage better quality and less costly services. Reagan has steadily supported the notion that private market forces can best allocate resources and may attempt to experimentally operate Medicaid by this approach. Because of the conservative majority in the Senate and increased conservative influence in the House, it is likely that there will be a closer relationship between Congress and the Executive Branch, thus, facilitating conservative legislative initiatives regarding Medicaid and Medicare.

Generally, we can predict a philosophical shift to the public policy position that health care is the responsibility of the individual and not an automatic right. This public policy shift will parallel its counterpart in the private sector.[22] What this will mean is that as future reductions in health services and expenditures are made, it will be the individual's responsibility to find alternatives within the system to manage his or her illness. Under the assumption that health care is a right, the reductions would be seen as the denial by government of an individual's basic right to health care.

The difference in these values/assumptions is not so troublesome for the health consumer with alternatives (that is to say financial resources) in the health system. However, to impose on the consumer with few or no alternatives, the responsibility for managing his illness is an unrealistic and immoral proposition. It's clear that the policymakers must either provide additional alternatives or change their assumptions if the poor and minority communities are not to be disenfranchised by future health policy initiatives.

C. Resources

Based on the projected policies of the eighties, it is expected that health resources in terms of expenditures and facilities and services will undergo further shrinkage. Reagan will encounter pressure early in his administration to exercise tighter control of the federal budget and will likely trim those social and health care program expenditures that have been targeted for cuts or caps by fiscal conservatives.[23] The result will be a smaller overall pool for financing health programs through the federal coffers. It remains to be seen if this reduction will or can be offset, in part, by an influx of private sector financing.

Certainly personal resources will not be adequate for securing the needed type and amount of care for individual health consumers. A recent study viewed as the most massive ever undertaken of the use of United States health services gives a startling picture of health insurance coverage for American citizens. This study, the National Health Care Expenditures Survey, was compiled using data from 37,000 Americans in 1977 and 1978.

It reports that 26.6 million people (12.6% of the United States population) were without health insurance in 1977. There was a major difference for race with 11.7% of whites uninsured compared to 18% of minority

Americans.[24] The significance of this is not in just the number or percentage of persons with no insurance, but the additional numbers who have inadequate insurance that would fail to protect them from the hardship of a prolonged, expensive illness. The initial number of persons uninsured could also be swelled in the future by persons on Medicaid who are later declared ineligible and dropped from the rolls.[25]

Future facilities for blacks and the poor in the inner city are almost certain to be reduced if present trends are not reversed. Dr. Alan Sager's study of hospital closings over the past 40 years leads him to conclude the possibility that "in the next ten to 15 years, there will be no hospitals in the inner cities except tertiary care* centers."[26] The projection comes from the fact that the earlier hospital closings involved small non-teaching hospitals, particularly those that in earlier times did not admit black patients. This scenario poses a further problem in that even though there would be few beds available to future inner-city residents, the cost of care would still be higher because the remaining tertiary care beds would be very expensive.

Hospital industry representatives, however, see an extremely tough time ahead for those tertiary care centers located in inner city areas. David Kinzer, President of the Massachusetts Hospital Association, believes that the tertiary care centers would not be able to survive in a competitive market place because of the cost of teaching and research that the centers must bear.[27] Thus, the hospitals likely to be left in the inner

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Note: Tertiary care centers are those hospitals that offer specialized high technology services. They act as referral centers for smaller community hospitals, and usually have active medical education and research components.

city are the very ones that would not be able to adjust to the future pro-competition policies.

The overall picture of people, policies and resources in the health system for the eighties is not an optimistic one. However, there are areas and issues that, nonetheless, must be addressed and there are opportunities for innovative efforts waiting for persons with vision.

V. SELECTED ISSUES

It should be stated, before we outline some issues for the eighties, that there have been forums (at least two recent and large ones we know of) that have been convened for the purpose of gaining a consensus of issues of strategies for health delivery to blacks in the near future.[28] The published reports from these forums and others can be consulted for a more thorough and broad-based listing of upcoming issues.

We should also say that our listing by comparison is smaller than those produced by the forums and probably more biased because of our position in the health system. Nevertheless, what follows are those health issues which we feel hold key significance for the black community and the community-at-large.

A. Families, Children, and the Elderly

Although it might seem a bit unusual to speak of the health of families, there are certain health related issues which are relevant to the family context. The family as the basic social unit in society has a central, first-line role in addressing the health needs and health problems of its members. As such, the family may often be the initial deliverer of care to its members, not unlike the old-fashioned remedies dispensed by our grandparents.

When we refer to a health family we really speak about the health of the individual members. But this health is tied closely to the type of family environment in which the individual exists. For example, health status correlates positively with income and education. The family becomes the basic unit where the education and income of one or more members can affect not only their own health status, but also the health status of all persons that reside in that particular family. Lastly, because the family is the primary socialization and learning unit for the children, it is a position to frame and shape the future health behavior and lifestyle of the children—either positively or negatively.

Thus, the family for all the above reasons is a prime candidate for a true "health system," with all the parts working together to provide and maintain not only the physical health but also the emotional, and spiritual health needs of the other family members.

However, there are external forces that work against the family ability to positively influence the health of its members. Nationwide problems of inflation, unemployment and a questioning of older traditions have combined to weaken the family unit.

The significant numbers of female headed households in the black community are the hardest hit by inflation, since there is unsually one wage earner in the family and in the labor force, women generally still earn less than men in comparable jobs. Unemployment also strikes this particular household because the type of jobs held by most black females are not those jobs that are resistant to budget-cutting layoffs.

Even the two-wage earning family is not spared because inflation of earnings pushes them into a higher tax bracket. Also, historically, married couples have been subject to a tax "penalty" that taxes them at a higher rate than two persons living together and pooling their earnings. These pressures have encouraged persons in some cases to forego the marriage certificate and live together, thus breaking away from traditional marriage. This has meant that according to national trends the traditional two parent family is declining as a proportion of total "families." This is more pronounced in the black community.[29]

In a report, "The Status of Children, Youth and Families," there has been a examination of federal programs which implicitly and explicitly have some impact on the family's ability to provide for the health needs of its members. These federal programs may be transfer payment programs (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) or service delivery programs (Medicaid or Title XX). The important role they play is providing necessary resources that the poor family would otherwise be unable to obtain.

This study showed that there are some 268 federal programs which are felt to potentially affect the family (119 of these were in the old DHEW) and 63 federal programs (20 at DHEW) which were thought to have explicit impact on families.[30] It is important for the black community to monitor these programs and work to preserve those which provide a cost-effective benefit for blacks as well as for all families.

The particular problem of children's health relates strongly to poverty. While American children today are healthier than at any time in history of the country, those health problems that remain are related to the effects of poverty: bad health habits, poor nutrition and lack of available or accessible health services. In 1977 over 10 million American children (16% of the total) lived in families with incomes below the poverty level. In 1977 40% of all black children lived in poverty. This means that these children will tend to be at high risk for mental health problems, will more likely use an outpatient department for their health care, will more likely have a less nutritious diet, and are more likely to suffer child abuse.

Mental health of black and minority children is another important concern; particularly the handling of their mental health problems. Studies have shown that minority children are institutionalized in correctional facilities four times as often as white children, as compared to an "institutionalization" (or utilization rate) only 20% higher than whites for medical and educational facilities. Such a discrepancy must raise questions about the way in which our society handles problem behavior in minority children.

Dental problems, particularly in children, have reached drastic proportions during the period 1971-74. While 43% of children aged 6-11 with yearly family income of $15,000 need dental care, 73.8% of such children with family incomes of under $5,000 needed such care.

As to the elderly, (65 years and older) it is projected that this population will increase by 1.5% a year over the next decade for persons between the years of 65-74, and 2.5% a year for persons 75 and older.[32] And the black elderly are projected to have the highest yearly percentage increase for all other black age groups for the years 1980 through 1995. Yet, the increase in the elderly population is noteworthy in another respect: in 1977 as approximately 11% of the population, the elderly consumed 28% of the U.S. health care dollar. If we project these figures over the eighties, by 1990 this will mean 12% of the population will be consuming over 32% of the U.S. health care dollar. The obvious reason for this phenomenon is the chronic and degenerative diseases occurring and recurring in the elderly. These diseases over the increased life span take more and more services (paid for primarily with federal dollars) to treat. The elderly see their physicians 50% more often and have two times as many hospital stays as the younger population; the hospital stays are also for twice as long as the younger groups.

Some 5% of the elderly reside in long-term care institutions, which means that the vast majority are living alone or in families. Though there have been efforts in the past to provide meaningful support services to the elderly, this will become a greater need (and demand by the elderly) in the future. There must be a greater public policy support of the family unit as/the largest provider of health care to the aged. This is particularly important for black families who, because of generally lower income, often do not have the financial or other resources to maintain an elderly person in the home. Supporting the family in this way may prove to be cost-saving in the long run by reducing the need for more expensive institutionalized care.

B. Health Promotion/Disease Prevention

Fundamental to the implementation of a changing philosophy that puts emphasis on the individual's responsibility for health care is a system which promotes staying healthy and preventing disease, rather than the illness management focus of the present health system. There is a blueprint that has been developed through the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health and Surgeon General, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services). Two documents form the basis of this blueprint: One is a report which lays out a health policy and the other is a set of draft issue papers which are problem-oriented and list detailed, specific objectives to be achieved by the 1990s.[33,34] This represents a starting point for pinpointing and highlighting objectives which focus in on those health problems that are preventable, or that can be solved through lower cost interventions.

A central concept of this blueprint is that of the individual's responsibility to lead a healthy life-style. The issue of life-style is one which has blossomed in the seventies and will probably be used as leverage on health consumers in the wake of future health service reductions:

> Many of the health problems of the disadvantaged that do not appear to be improving, or are not improving at a sufficient rate, or not at the same rate as for the advantaged segment of the population, are ones that will not improve without a change in the life-styles of the disadvantaged peoples. In some, but not all cases, the life-style changes will only come when there are, also, changes in the socio-economic bases of their existence. [35]

There is a need for the black community and particularly black health professionals to acquire the knowledge and perspectives to be able to see what life-style changes can occur in the individual for improved health and what initiatives must come from outside the individual and the black community for improvements in health status.

An important and obvious health problem in which to use this assessment method is cancer in blacks. Although second to heart disease as the main cause of death, the age-adjusted cancer death rate increased 20% for blacks and 3% for whites between 1950 and 1975.[36] Yet, reasons for the differences might be explained in part by life-style, dietary habits, exposure to toxic agents or a combination of these.[37] In fact, the four top chronic disease leading causes of death of blacks in 1975 were heart disease, cancer, stroke, and diabetes. All have prevention components that can be addressed (e.g. proper exercise, good diet, limiting exposure to toxic agents).

C. Increased Drug Use and Abuse

In 1977 then-President Nixon declared a war on drugs alarmed by the seriousness of the drug problem in the nation. Said Nixon, "if we can not destroy the drug menace in the United States then it will surely destroy us." Four years later the New York Times reported that New York was experiencing its worst illegal traffic problems in five years, with record supplies of heroin and cocaine on the streets. President Ford pledged to attack this problem.

Now, some six years later the same type of articles about the increase in the use of drugs are starting to appear again. As an example, the New York Times reported the passage of a $4 million anti-heroin program, pushed by Governor Carey in response to crowded drug clinics in the state.[38] Caseloads at federally assisted drug treatment programs in New York City rose 15% in 1979; in New Jersey the increase was 54%. Figures were not available for Washington D. C., but there is an increase in the drug-related cases seen in ambulatory settings.

During the coming retrenchment these necessary programs for addicts must be maintained so that larger disruptions in the black community can be avoided and the continuity of the rehabilitation effort is not broken.

D. Technology

Even though the hue and cry in the health sector currently is the cost of health care, several scientists feel that technology is a major factor behind the high cost of health care.[39,40,41] Technologies can be considered in three categories:

1) those that require large capital outlays like the CT Scanner (a highly sophisticated x-ray machine)

2) those that don't require a large capital outlay, but

have the potential for enormous utilization because of widespread access to them like those utilized in certain surgical procedures or common laboratory tests, and

3) those that have high personnel costs like those used in renal dialysis.[42]

Particularly with regard to CT scanners, there may be a tendency for them to be available in those larger, financially secure hospitals that can exert enough power to push through a successful Certificate-of-Need* application and secure financing to purchase the equipment. On the contrary, those hospitals of lesser resources who, nonetheless, have patients that potentially need the services of a CT scanner are not as fortunate.[43]

A recent survey of CT scanner acquisitions by the National Urban League affiliates shows that while municipal and other inner-city hospitals are getting them, the private institutions are very much ahead of the municipals in CT acquisition.[44]

Indeed hospitals are not alone in seeking to purchase this expensive technology. The $800,000+ machines are also being sought by private physicians to use in their offices, even though the monthly payments can amount to $20,000 or higher. The reason is a realization by the medical community that the scanner is the most important medical advance since the discovery of the x-ray.[45]

The Department of Health and Human Services doesn't exactly share this view. In fact, HHS is trying actively through its health planning agencies nationwide to stem the purchase of CT scanners, at least for hospitals. This move is seen by some as ultimately denying Americans some of the results of recent medical achievements. Running counter to the CT scanner issue, the government has been attempting to push the acquisition of the units by HMO's (Health Maintenance Organizations) which limit physician choice by the enrollee, but do focus on preventive aspects.

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*Note: A Certificate of Need is a type of permit that health facilities must now obtain from the state planning agency before a capital expenditure in excess of $150,000 can be incurred.

The central questions for researchers are whether or not the medical system is "out of control" with new technologies being developed and disseminated before their impact and benefits can be properly assessed; and secondly, are the technologies producing a dehumanization of health care delivery? However, the black community should examine whether or not the diffusion of new technologies occurs, in part, along class or racial lines and, if so, how can this be overcome.

VI: IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

Because of the financing of health services in America and increasing proportions paid by the federal government, the black community can expect a flurry of federal attention and activity directed at health programs during the eighties. Some of this attention may well result in decreasing the expenditures for several federal programs.

To respond to this possible scenario, the black community will have to develop new strategies, or alter old ones to ensure that the status of health services delivered to it are not weakened, but strengthened.

Although these strategies as listed below, originally developed early in 1980,[46] long before the presidential election, they are still relevant (maybe more so) to the coming decade.

1) The local level will be the battle ground for the

eighties. Organizations and politicians at this level will have to be strengthened in order to secure or preserve the scarce local resources for meeting health needs in the continuing retrenchment period ahead. This presupposes an overall perspective of game plans at the national level (e.i. Reagan Administration, Congress, special interest health groups, general public sentiment), and state levels (governor, state legislature).

2) Trade-offs will be a fact of life for survival in an environment of shrinking resources. This is not to say that the black community ceases to push for a bigger pie (comprehensive services), but that in a realistic sense negotiation and compromise take place when that is the obvious course. This presupposes an agreement in the community priorities and a knowledge of the future implications of present trade-off decisions--which is no mean feat, but easier accomplished at the level of local communities. A complementary and necessary knowledge is that of the differences between opting for purely health system strategies (e.i. intra-health strategies such as immunizations vs. hypertension screening) and a health and non-health strategy such as pediatric clinic vs. once a week garbage pick-up. In some cases it may be more advantageous for a local community to opt for

a non-health strategy such as a neighborhood redevelopment housing program, or a jobs program because these latter programs may have indirect long-range benefits for the health status of the community. In situations like these, black health professionals have an important role to play in providing expertise to their local communities on the potential impact of proposed health and health-related programs. In this way, community leaders can be more knowledgeable in articulating and defending their strategies.

3) Flexibility in responding to new opportunities is the touchstone for approaching any new and unknown situation. This presupposes an agenda of firm achieveable health goals for the black community and an openness in working out (negotiating) the specifics of "getting there."

VII . FUTURE HEALTH AGENDA ITEMS

A. Support of Financially Distressed Hospitals

In the second half of the 96th Congress bills were put forward to assist certain financially troubled hospitals so that they would not be forced to close. The majority of these hospitals serve black communities and often function as the principal source of health care for their communities. While the legislation was not passed, a demonstration project funded by the Department of Health and Human Services was initiated for these types of hospitals. With the new wave of conservatism sweeping the new Congress and the executive branch federal initiatives like these may be scarce. This makes vocal and aggressive local support of these hospitals critically important when these hospitals are the only or principal sources of care. Such a situation, as an example, has been present in Harlem where the community since 1950 has actively resisted efforts to close Syndenham Hospital. Several times when closure seem imminent, an active community gave its support to keep the hospital open.

In Syndenham's case, after more than 20 years of vocal support, the acute hospital is now being converted to an alcoholism detox unit.

This indicates that in spite of active community support, it is realistic to assume that some inner-city hospitals will still close, and if closure is imminent, the community should get assurances from health officials that alternate health services will be available and accessible to all community residents, which means preferably located in the community being served.

B. Child Health Program Adoption

A focus on child health programs may be easier to support in the coming decade because of its cost effective nature. That is to say, an early investment in a child's health will probably be less expensive than the later investment to treat an advancing health problem in a young adult. Therefore the black community should push hard for child health programs with financing that encourages health care rather than illness management. A recent Congressional study entitled Better Health for Our Children lays out a framework for improving the present system from which individual communities can select a mix of strategies that are right for their child population.[47]

C. Support of Health Professions Allocations - Education and Training

Since the publication of government reports projecting a surplus of physicians and because of the normally high training and education costs for the health professions in general, the federal government has sought to discontinue its historical policy of federal support for the health professions. The category of support is usually referred to as MOD-VOPP (e.g. Medicine, Osteopathy, Dentistry-Veterinary, Medicine, Optometry, Pharmacy and Podiatry). This would have a significant impact on the schools' ability to support those students who could not finance their own education. Over a period of time education for the health professions might otherwise be possible only for the wealthy.

D. Oppose Across-the-board Cuts in Medicaid

There is a growing trend across the country (i.e. Alabama, Wisconsin, California, Maryland) to affect cuts in Medicaid expenditure. Particularly, disquieting is the desire for across-the board cuts made under the aegis of objectivity. There must be strong opposition to these across-the-board cuts which represent meat-ax approaches to complex social and economic problems.

E. Governmental Support of Upward Mobility Programs and Non-Traditional Programs

Because so many of the black health workers are disproportionately employed in the secondary sector, it is necessary to tap this pool of workers as persons with the potential to advance to higher level positons and careers with the necessary training. An example of this would be developing a recruitment and training program for the black males who work as orderlies to train them to be registered nurses--a traditionally "female" position. This program would help to address the national nursing shortage and at the same time advance workers from the secondary to the primary or near primary sector.

VIII. EPILOGUE

Researching and writing this paper has impressed upon us the abundance of available information in some areas, and the deficiency in other areas. We were further reminded, that there continues to exist ardent advocates of minority health concerns--sometimes where one least expects to find them. One challenge among the many that lie before us is to take the existing information and strategies and "use" them to solve health problems. This thesis was expressed in a recent publication on health promotion:

> To know these things gives hope that we can devise new strategies for health. But medical and scientific knowledge do not automatically confer the power to solve health problems today. What is in doubt is whether we have the personal discipline and political will to solve these problems.[48]

That black people have the personal and political will to do so and have been committed to solving problems in the black community, of which health is only a segment, is readily evident from their efforts in the preceding decades of this century. In his recent convocation address, Dr. James Cheek, President of Howard University, made a strong and eloquent case for black leadership in addressing the problems of blacks in this country:

> We make no apology for doing what our times and circumstances compel us to do. For the First Emancipation was the burden of the white man, and that

> is why it remained only a proclamation. But the Second Emancipation is the burden of the black man, and that is why it must be made a reality.[49]

In health, as in other areas, the problems will be solved through the collective/personal discipline and political will of all Americans, in implementing those solutions to improve the health system and the people's health. Taking our place on the cutting edge of this movement will be critical to the health of black Americans and of all Americans in the coming decade.

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GROWING UP BLACK IN AMERICA

By

Marian Wright Edelman

I. OVERVIEW

> "I wouldn't want to be black in America, would you?"
> Miami Mayor Maurice Ferre, commenting on report on
> the causes of racial violence in Miami last May.[1]

Despite progress in the battle against inequality, black children, youth, and families are worse off than whites in every area of American life. Twenty-seven years after Brown v. the Board of Education, most black children still have not gained the opportunities that most white children take for granted. In some areas the gap between black and white children's chances for success has actually widened rather than narrowed in the past decade. For example, although black infants are twice as likely as white infants to die within the first year of life, the infant mortality rate fell faster during the 70s among white families than among black. Real per capita income increased slightly for whites but fell for black families. The disparity in school suspension and teenage unemployment rates between white and black children increased.

America's poor population includes a higher proportion of children, minorities, and women than ever before. Children are the poorest group in American society: one in six is poor in any one year; one in four is on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) at some time in his or her lifetime.[2]

Today, 47 out of every 100 black babies are born into poverty, compared to fewer than one in eight white babies. Between 1969 and 1977, the rate of poverty among black families rose from 3.75 to 4 times that of white families.[3] In 1977 the per capita family income among two-parent black families was about equal to that among female-headed white families; female-headed black families had only half as much income per person as male-headed white families.

Despite the continuing and increasing poverty of blacks, many whites are turning their backs on and resisting efforts to ensure equal opportunities for black children. Although a black child still has a one in three chance of attending a racially isolated school, an anti-busing amendment that would make it even harder to achieve school desegregation was approved by the 96th Congress but later vetoed by President Carter. Racial isolation has shifted from the South, where it is lowest, to the Midwest, where it is higher than in the rest of the country. Indeed, a black child moving from the South to the Midwest (e.g., from Biloxi, Mississippi to Chicago) about doubles his or her chance of ending up in a 90% black public school.

From birth through young adulthood, blacks still face staggering obstacles as they struggle to achieve decency, dignity, and success in America.

Twice as many black as white women lack prenatal care at almost every stage of pregnancy. This imbalance persists despite high correlations between lack of prenatal care and infant mortality and illness.

Black mothers die in childbirth three times as often as white mothers. Of those who survive, one in 40 must then watch her baby die in the first year of life.

Growing up, black children are more likely to be sick because they are more likely to be poor. One out of seven black children under the age of 15 lacks a regular source of health care. Partly as a result, black children, aged one to four, die of heart disease 100% more often than white children and die from accidents 50% more often than white children. New tuberculosis cases occur five times as often among black as among white children.

Less than half of all black children live with both parents; the majority live within single-parent families or with other relatives. Black children are more likely than white children to live without or away from any family and are disproportionately represented in institutions that typically serve the young (e.g., children's homes, psychiatric facilities), where twice as many non-whites as whites have no families at all.

The black child's mother goes to work when her child is younger, works longer hours and earns less than a white child's mother. This means that black children need full-day child care more often than white children. But child care is still an inadequately supported service. Head Start serves only 20% of all eligible children and it may have to serve even fewer if funding fails to keep pace with the rate of inflation and as more budget cuts to social programs are threatened.[5]

Once a black child enters public school he or she is twice as likely as a white child to be held back a grade, three times as likely to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded, and twice as likely to be suspended from school. It should be no surprise, therefore, that in any year, for every two black students who graduate from high school, one drops out. Poor skills development and inadequate training of black children in school contributes to this high drop-out rate. Often these problems stem from and/or are reinforced by the low expectations and negative attitudes many education officials hold for black children. Black children, in turn, often internalize these expectations and label themselves as failures. Sadly, the current national atmosphere, if combined with weakened federal enforcement of civil rights, may encourage a revival of overt negative attitudes and acts against black children in some public schools. (See box on page 157)

Even if he or she graduates from high school, a black youth is three times as likely to be unemployed as a white youth. Black college graduates are employed at about the same rate as white high school dropouts.

Below is a summary of facts about the lives of black children in today's America and what they mean in human terms. They add up, for many millions of black children, to a societal condemnation to second-class citizenship.

II. FAMILY STRUCTURE

> I will always love my mother. I would a never been here but my mother birthed me.[6]
>
> Jerry, age 11

> Q: What does your dad do?
> A: He works in a restuarant. He's -- I think in Ohio -- or sometin' like that.
> Q: Do you see him?
> A: Well he sends money to us.
> Q: He's working in Ohio, so I guess you don't really get to spend much time with him.
> A: No.
> Q: What's the best part of your life?
> A: Bein' with my mother and brother.
>
> Orlando, age 11

Having a stable family life is critical to the well-being of all children. Yet black children are far more likely than white children to live with one or neither parent.

- One black child in eight lives with neither parent.
- One black child in five lives in a family where the parents have

The educational process is still permeated by racial discrimination. This oath, which has circulated in different forms since desegregation of schools began, has resurfaced in Jackson, Mississippi since the November 4th election. Evidently it comes from the area of the East Baton Rouge Parish school district in Louisiana. A copy of the oath was brought to the Children's Defense Fund's Mississippi office by a local resident, who found it on a table in a fast food restaurant.

WHITE CITIZENS FOR E. B. R. P. SCHOOLS: "ONLY"

Oath of all white Teachers and Principals:

I. All white high schools will write up as many suspensions on Negroes as they occur, small or large.

I. All white high schools will bring about the suspensions of 25 supposed to be Negro graduates (15 boys and 10 girls).

I. All white high schools will send Negroes home for any little thing they do so that we may have on record their lack of interest in school.

I. Nigger is not a bad word to call Negroes, so use the name at will.

I. Be aware that all maids and yard boys will do as we tell them because in their eye sight white is still the best thing they have ever seen.

I. All white School Board Members are with us (except one).

I. K. K. K. are doing a thing too, so together we will have Niggers in a turmoil.

I. Junior high is the area where we get Niggers prepared for the 12th and 14th grades.

I. This paper is not to get in the hands of any Negro mothers (don't worry about the fathers, they don't show up for nothing) or Negro children. The good we are doing for the Negroes should never be talked about in their presence. Any reading of this nature should be read and burned up before it get in the hands of your maids or yard boys.

I. Reappointment of the School Board (one man one vote to a single member district vote went like white supremecy is supposed to go? Anyway, we feel that Negroes are getting more education now than they will ever use.

I. Our goal is to average 240 Negroes suspended per month to aid drop out-inferior education.

separated. This is seven times the white rate.

. Black children are three times as likely as white children to have their father die; one black child in every 16 lives with a widowed mother.

. One black child in three is born to a teenaged mother.

. Black children live in families headed by someone other than their parents at rates four times higher than those for white children.

From 1973 to 1975 the proportion of black children living with their mothers in the households of relatives jumped from 30 to 39%.[8]

The proportion of black children informally adopted or absorbed into the households of relatives rose from 13 to 15% between 1970 and 1978. Today about 1.4 million black children live in extended families. Many more live with relatives for short periods of time while their parents work, recover from illnesses, or reside in institutions.[9]

III. POVERTY

> She won't go because she's ashamed that we ain't got anything, in the way of material things I mean. She's afraid that folks will find out just how poor she is, and she don't want them knowing anything about this. Girl has only got a couple of dresses and after she wore them day after day she thought she shouldn't go to school anymore. People would be laughing at her, she said, 'cause she always looked the same. Same goes for her shoes. She says they look like boys shoes, and the other kids are going to laugh at them. The children go to the cafeteria at lunchtime and she never has any money to buy things. She's always hungry and she doesn't have the nerve to ask them for money, otherwise like I told you, they'll see how bad off she is. Then another thing. She used to like to talk in class. But then the teacher started to ask the children about their homes and their families, and what it was like outside of school. She knew they'd get around to her and she's have to tell them about this house, and the street, and us too. She must have got scared, or ashame, like I said before. She couldn't do it. I think that's when she stopped going.[10]
>
> Grandmother of Theresa, age 12

When you do it, you don't think about it. When you're poor and

> starving how are you gonna put yourself in the position to think about it? You are in the streets to get over. You don't think about what anybody else needs. You don't cut the streets: the streets cut you. You either make it or break it.[11]
>
> Gordon Andrews, age 16

Not all black children and youth react to poverty as Gordon did by turning to street life, but many black children do have to decide how they are going to adjust to a life spent without enough money to get by and the indignities associated with such a status.

Poverty is the most persistent and pressing problem facing black children today. Their poverty rate is about four times higher than that of white children.

. The median family income in constant dollars (that is, adjusted for inflation) for black families fell during the 1970s; for white families it rose.

. In 1979 the median family income of black children was almost exactly half that of white children.

. Although in 1977 there were more white children and families than black children and families on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), a far higher proportion of all black families and children were on AFDC. Almost 41% of all black children are AFDC recipients.

. AFDC payments are intolerably low. The national average, which typically covers one mother and two children, is $241.35 per month or $2.74 a day per person. In Mississippi the per day payment is 93¢ per person. Despite rhetoric about the importance of maintaining families intact, many states deny support to families unless unemployed fathers leave home.

. Many of the differences in black and white families' poverty levels can be explained by the lower earnings of blacks, particularly black males. In 1977 the median income for black males was $9,035; for white males it was $13,482.

. Four out of every ten black children, compared to one out of eight white children, depend upon the income of their mother. Because the black mother faces discrimination both as a black and as a woman, she is the lowest paid and most unemployed worker in the nation. Black women heading families are three times more likely to be unemployed today than they were at the beginning of the 1970's.[12] Thus two out of every three black children in female-headed families live in poverty. Only two out of five white children living in female-headed families live in poverty.

IV. CHILD CARE

> There is a real need right now for infant care. For example, we have a lot of mothers in high school who can't return to high school and are staying at home. After a year or two of this they are not going to want to go back to school. They will have just gotten out of the mood and then the rest of their lives are going to be harder because they have not graduated from high school....
>
> It seems to me that of our parents, a large majority of them have come off of the AFDC rolls when they found a job, because our center was available to them. And if that center is not available to them, the only option for most of them, I would say 75% of them, is to go back on the AFDC rolls. But they have in fact decided that life can be better than that: that they can be in control of their lives. I see women who, because that center is there, think, "I am about something that has some worth to it. I go to work every day, I can get a pay check, I can hold down this job, I can meet my family's needs. I have crises often when there's any extra expense, but I can in fact be in control of things."[13]
>
> Mary Lynn Porter, Director of Auburn
> Day Care, Auburn, Alabama

> My son has been in day care since he was about nine months old. Before that, my grandmother kept him, but she got sick and so she couldn't keep him for me anymore....I need day care services because I need to work. My husband and I both work. We have to pay a fee for (our son to be in day care), but it is much less than what we would have to

> pay to a private day care center....Day care services, private day care services, are very expensive in Auburn.[14]
>
> Mrs. L., Auburn, Alabama

Child care services are still too scarce for the many families who want and need them at prices they can afford. A disproportionate number of children who need child care--children of working and single parents, children born to teenaged parents, children born into poverty, children at risk of abuse, neglect or institutionalization, and children with special needs who could benefit from preschool programs--are black.

. One out of every two black children under age six has a mother who is either working or seeking work.

. Black mothers participate in the labor force at their maximum rate as soon as their youngest child is three years old; white mothers reach their maximum labor force participation rate after their youngest child turns six, and even then only if they are divorced or separated. Three out of five black children attending pre-schools do so full time; three out of four white children attending pre-schools do so only part time. Although one in every four black three-year-olds attends pre-school full time, less than one in every 14 white three-year-olds does.

. While few black families can afford to pay for private pre-school programs, three out of four black 3 to 5 year olds who are in private pre-schools attend full time; only about one in four white children in private pre-schools attends full time.

. Two parent black families often earn too much to qualify for federally subsidized child care but too little to pay for private child care. As a result relatives often care for their children. One study found that the black extended family alone accounts for 40% of the black need for child care.[15]

. Poor black single mothers use federally subsidized child care for their children more than do any other parents. Approximately 40% of the children enrolled in centers that receive federal subsidies are black.[16] More than 40% of all black 3 to 5-year-old children are in public day care programs, while less than 30% of all white 3 to 5-year-olds are in such programs. Indications of similar disparities can be found in Head Start, WIN, Title XX of the Social Security Act, and whatever data on the race of the beneficiaries of day care are available.

V. CHILD HEALTH

> One night Wilson, a frail 12-year-old with a long standing cough, woke up vomiting blood. He and his mother arrived, by bus, at their local emergency room at 8 a.m., and were then forced to wait until 6:30 p.m. before seeing a doctor. Test results indicated Wilson had signs of tuberculosis and possible leukemia, and that he displayed symptoms of severe malnourishment Had Wilson received basic health services such as routine checkups and prompt attention, there is little question that his problems could have been treated long before he became critically ill.[17]
>
> Mrs. Carolyn Lewis, from Knoxville, Tennessee, is a divorced, working mother with three children. Her older daughter has an eye problem and needs to see the eye specialist at least twice a year. Her youngest daughter was born with the tube closed in her right ear. Recurring infections destroyed her right eardrum, so she is now partially deaf. When wax builds up in her left ear she has difficulty hearing. This happens because Mrs. Lewis can't afford to take her to the ear specialist to get her ears cleaned out when needed. Mrs. Lewis's son was born with a birth defect and is hyperactive. Last year, when he had a lesion on his chest, the Health Department provided free medical care. Now Health Department funds have been cut back, and Mrs. Lewis has to pay. Mrs. Lewis says of her children's situation:
>
> "I was on welfare for three years, and that was how I found out about their problems, and that is how their medical bills were covere through Medicaid....But now, I have to follow up their medical needs on my income ($419 a month), and I can't do it....The only way that I could get health care now would be to quit work. I would have to quit work, go back home and sit down, and then have welfare tell me I need to get out and go to work. That is the only way I could get Medicaid.[18]

> I am married and have a wife and three kids. I bring home at least $500 a month. That is not enough to pay expenses like light bills, oil, and stuff like that. For about the past four years, I was just trying to provide my family with health insurance....so I can just take them to the hospital and get them checked on. They have never had their teeth checked on, and I would like very much to have that....Shawn (my son) had been sick for about three weeks, and I had to take him to the hospital. They told me that they would not take him unless they had a deposit of $60....I went out, trying to find $60....I borrowed it from my father. Shawn was in there for about three days.[19]
>
> Roger Glover, father of three,
> Beaufort, S. Carolina

Mr. Glover, a Vietnam war veteran and day laborer, is still trying to pay the bill for his son's three days of hospital care. His other two children both under five, have never seen a doctor. They are among the one in seven, or over 9 million American children who have no known regular source of primary health care. His children are also among the one in three, or 18 million, who have never seen a dentist. These children are disproportionately black.

In South Carolina, only if Mr. Glover left home would his family become eligible for Medicaid. Indeed, fathers who refuse to leave their families are ineligible for Medicaid benefits in over half the states--an anti-family discrimination that must be ended. Yet conservative Republicans blocked a bill, the Child Health Assessment Program (CHAP), in the 96th Congress, which would have enabled poor, working and intact families to get Medicaid benefits, and which would have invested more of the federal dollar on cost-effective preventive health services for children.

One black mother in seven receives less than the recommended minimum of five prenatal medical examinations; one in 16 receives no prenatal care until the last three months of pregnancy. Medicaid in 17 states does not cover prenatal care during the first pregnancy.

. On any given day, among 6 to 11-year-old black children, one in ten eats less protein than the amount set by established minimum standards. One in five black children does not get enough calcium; two in three do not get enough iron in their meals. Poor nourishment, except for iron, is twice as prevalent among black as among white children.

. Many black children are not protected against diseases we know how to prevent. Two out of every five black 5 to 9-year-olds in central cities are not immunized against polio, tetanus, diphtheria, or whooping cough.

. Black children lack a regular source of health care twice as often as do white children. Four out of every ten black children under age 15 depend upon hospital emergency rooms,out-patient clinics,or unknown sources for primary medical care. More than eight out of every ten white children receive care from private doctors in individual or group practice.

. For every black child who has private hospital or surgical insurance, another does not. Only one white child in five lacks such insurance.

. On the average white children visit dentists one more time per year than black children.

. Black children who require mental health services are more likely than white children to be treated on an inpatient rather than an outpatient basis. In fact 22.3% of the residents in psychiatric facilities are black; of these, half are under 18. Too many black children who do reach outpatient mental health clinics receive only diagnostic services, and must go elsewhere for actual treatment.

. Many poor black families are unaware of and fail to receive services for which they are eligible. Approximately, one out of every two black AFDC families do not receive free school lunches for their children; more than one in four do not get food stamps.[20]

Medicaid's Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment program (EPSDT) serves only about one-fourth of all eligible children. A disproportionate number of those not being served are black.[21] Major and systematic efforts must be expended within the black community,and through health delivery institutions,to ensure that families are aware of and take advantage of the benefits available under this existing program. At present in many states, outreach and other support services to enable parents and children to know about and use this and other federal and state programs are poor.

Despite the fact that pregnancy and childhood are the times when health care has the greatest preventive payoff, children and pregnant women are covered particularly poorly by the present mix of public programs and private insurance. Less than 30% of American children are covered through private insurance for out of hospital, physician visits. Employment-based insurance plans shortchange coverage for children's needs. Only 15% cover children's eyeglasses, 9%, preventive care, and 32% children's dental care.

It is time for those who profess to be concerned with escalating health costs to invest far more of the public and private dollar on prevention. This is not only cost effective, it is more humane. How many of us who are parents would like to see our children suffer pain and impairment because we did not have the money to pay for health care?

VI. EDUCATION

B. J. Harris was a 10-year-old black boy who lived with his parents, two brothers, and four sisters in Massachusetts. When the school year finished B. J.'s parents were told he had done well enough to pass. Yet when B. J. returned to school in September he had been placed in one of the school's classes for the mentally retarded and children with learning disabilities. B. J. was disappointed and his mother felt ashamed. After two months in the special class B. J. stoppad going to school. Each day there was less and less for him to do. B. J. found himself killing time. He sat in the same corner of the room watching the teacher and the other children and began to believe that school was making him act like the really retarded children in the class. His belief was reinforced by his friends in the regular classes, who now avoided him, assuming that if he had been put in a special class, there must be something wrong with him.

B. J. seemed as intelligent as any of the children in his regular class. A psychologist from the Children's Defense Fund was given access to B. J.'s official school folder. His I.Q. score was given as 85, which seemed too low for B. J.'s abilities, although it would have correctly placed him in the special class. After much investigation it was revealed that B. J. had been assigned an I.Q. score, but had never been given an I.Q. test. Additional searching turned up eight more children, all but one of them black boys, who had been placed in special classes because of "low I.Q. scores." Each of the children had been labeled a "problem case" by their teachers, but only one of them had been doing poorly enough to warrant placement in a special class. When I.Q. tests were administered, all but one did well enough to return to the regular classroom.[22]

CDF staff met Kenny when he was a 14-year-old black child in Mississippi. Because he was partially sighted, he had not been in school since 3rd grade. A teacher in the public school told his mother that she "didn't have the time or the patience to teach him." Kenny's mother took him out of school and tried to get help at The Blind Institute. The principal there said that he would have to put Kenny, then 13, in a class with five-and six-year-olds. Already embarrassed and behind in his classes, Kenny was not willing to go to classes with such young children. This was the last attempt his mother made to get Kenny enrolled in a school.

At the time no program existed to deal with his special needs in the local public schools. Said his mother, "I want the school to prepare a class or program to meet Kenny's needs without making him embarrassed. Most of all, I want him to have an education so that he will be able to get a job to support himself. I don't know what he's going to do when I'm no longer with him."[23]

Over one million school-aged children are not enrolled in school. Many are not out of school by choice, but because they have been excluded--expelled, repeatedly suspended, excluded because they are "different" by virtue of race, income, physical, mental or emotional handicap, pregnancy, marriage or age. Hundreds of thousands of others are not being provided the special services they need within schools.

. More than one out of every five black 14 to 17 year-olds from low-income families are not enrolled in school; among all black children between the ages of 14 and 17, one in six is out of school.

. Black children are disproportionately placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR). Too often these classes merely slow instruction down to the presumably lower learning rates of the children placed in them and do not vary or intensify instruction. One black child in 30 is placed in these classes.

. A white child is twice as likely to be placed in a class for gifted students as in an EMR class; a black child is almost three times as likely to be placed in an EMR class as in a class for gifted students.

. Half of all black children come from families where the head of the family did not graduate from high school. Only one black child in 20 comes from a family where the head of the household graduated from college; white children are four times as likely to come from a college graduate's family. A black child from an intact two-parent family is still less likely to have a college graduate as the head of that family than is a white child in a female-headed household.

. One out of every 16 black public school students (from grades Kindergarten through 12) was corporally punished in 1977-1978; one in 13 was suspended from school. These are more than twice the rates for white students.

One black family in four reports that it has had at least one child suspended from school; one in 14 that it has had at least one child expelled from school. Among black families with incomes of $20,000 or more per year, almost one in five reported having had at least one child suspended. Clearly suspensions are not just a problem of low-income black families.

. Many black children are not being adequately taught and are therefore not learning. Too many black youth are leaving school--drop-outs and graduates--unable to read, write, or compute well enough to get a job. Some 13% of all 17-year-olds are functionally illiterate, unable to do basic reading, writing, or counting, unable to understand want ads, fill out job applications or get the right change for a purchase at the supermarket.[25]

. Black children repeat grades more than twice as often as white children. Among 18 and 19-year-olds, fewer than one in ten white students is still enrolled below the college level, while more than one in five black students are. Despite repeating grades, fewer black students ultimately complete high school than do whites.

. For the smaller percentage of black students who do manage to complete high school, the odds of going on to college are almost equal to those of white students. But because of the smaller percentage of blacks completing high school, 20% fewer of them ultimately reach college.

VII. YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

> So it seem like the sun is shinin. Feels good. Feels real good. Now I'm going down and talking to all the fellows out there. My main partner, I talked him into gettin' a job. I talked his brother into gettin' a job. I be walkin' in New York and don't be walkin' just to see what you could steal, but walkin' cause I got somewhere to go and somethin' to do. That's nice. I dig that.[26]
>
> Tom Burdette, age 18

> I knew it was gonna be hard to find a job but I didn't know it was gonna be as hard as it is. 'Cause I've heard most people say to get your high school education and you can get a job. Well, you don't have to have no high school. You can have a eighth-grade education, and if the white man knows you, you got a job; you can have a college degree, and if he don't want you to work, you ain't gonna work. Not unless you go out of town. A white lady can be dumb and not know how to write her name, and I can fill out the application and spell everything right; but by her color being a little lighter than mine she gets the job. And I can go on back home and start all over again.[27]
>
> Karen Lewis, age 22

Contrary to the stereotype, many black youth do want to work, although they may be discouraged by the poor prospects of finding a job. A recent study of youth unemployment in New York State found that 20% of the more than 3,000 youth surveyed were "super youth" who worked full time and also went to school or trained for future employment. These "super youth" were predominantly from minority groups--Native Americans, Orientals, Hispanics, and blacks. Unfortunately black youth who want jobs, particularly black males, face extremely high unemployment rates. Racial discrimination, lack of youth jobs, and lack of job skills all contribute to the severe jobless fate for black teenagers.

Too many black youth, even those who stay in school, know very little about how to look for a job or what an employer expects. Many employers fail to recruit inner-city youth, while publicly funded vocational education and employment services too seldom reach the most disadvantaged youth. When they do, they often track black youth into less desirable professions. For example, black public secondary school students are overrepresented in vocational education programs like consumer education, home economics, and homemaking, but are underrepresented in technical and modern industrial arts programs.[29] In vocational programs given in comprehensive high schools, black students are more than twice as likely to receive training to become custodians than they are to receive training to become candidates for law enforcement.[30]

Growing up, black children see far more unemployment around them than white children. Many question if they'll ever get the chance for a decent living even if they stay in school.

. A black child is about twice as likely as a white child to have at least one parent unemployed. Thirty percent of all black children have no parent in the labor force, primarily because black children are so much more likely than white children to live in single-parent households.

. Among 16 to 21-year-old black youth who are not in school, almost one in three is unemployed--a rate three times higher than the rate for whites.

. Recent black college graduates are almost three times as likely to be unemployed as recent white college graduates. More than one out of every five recent black high school graduates is unemployed. Thus while a black youth who graduates from high school has about the same chance of going on to college as does a white youth, neither completing high school nor completing college provides a black youth with the same chances that a white youth has in the labor market. College attendance rates for blacks improved over the past decade; unemployment rates worsened.

With the odds against their own employment and the widespread unemployment around them, it's no wonder that some black youth just give up and quit looking for work. As one teenager put it:

> You just live with your mom until you get a job--that should be any time a job comes looking for you. Why should you bother to go look for it? Even your parents can't find work.[31]

VIII. INADEQUATE HOUSING AND HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

> I grew up in the projects. I was afraid to walk in the streets because of all the trouble that was outside waiting for me.[32]
>
> Gordon Andrews, age 16

> Q: Do you like where you're living?
> A: No--too many things be goin' on around there.
> Q: What's going on?
> A: Shootin', trouble....my friend--her mother told her to go to the store about 10 o'clock at night and they were shootin' out--and she went outside and they shot her....she got killed.[33]
>
> Ernestine, age 13

Black children are more than twice as likely as white children to be inadequately housed. Inadequate housing means a dwelling unit lacking one or more of the following: plumbing, kitchen, sewage system, heating (except in the South), access to toilets, or physical or electrical maintenance to a degree that threatens health or safety. Millions of black children live in housing projects and neighborhoods where they do not feel safe.

. One black child in four lives in inadequate housing; among black families who rent, one child in three lives in inadequate housing.

. Even among black children from two-parent families who own their own homes, over one in ten live in inadequate housing.

. Because of the black extended family structure, 15% of all black families living in federally financed housing for the elderly have children living with them.

Racial discrimination in housing discrimination against families with children, strongly contributes to the number of black children living in inadequate housing. According to a recent report from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 26% of all rental units ban children, of those rental units with two or more bedrooms that do accept children, 55% have restrictions based on the number, age and sex of children. As a result, 47% of all two-bedroom rental units exclude families.[34]

The situation is particularly severe in large cities with disproportionately large black populations. In Los Angeles, 70% of all advertised rental housing excluded or restricted children. In Dallas, 52% of existing apartment buildings was for adults only. And in Atlanta, 75% of all new construction was limited to adults.[35]

Housing discrimination against families with children is often a smokescreen for sexual and racial discrimination. Families headed by women and minorities particularly suffer. Black families, which generally have more children and less income than white families, have a harder time finding adequate housing. There is a severe shortage of family housing that low-income families can afford.

Several local studies have found that no-children policies are most prevalent in "white" areas of cities. Thus the restrictions tend to perpetuate segregated school systems. In addition the widespread association of public housing with black children and their families is often cited as the reason for community opposition to low-income multi-family housing.

IX. CHILDREN WITHOUT HOMES

> Mary A. first enrolled in school at the age of seven. After one week the school sent her home to stay since she was not toilet-trained and "exhibited" some signs of retardation. When Mary was 12 years old she still had never had any kind of formal schooling or training. The school also considered her brother, James A. to be profoundly retarded; he was never permitted to attend school. The County Welfare Department recommended that both children be permanently institutionalized in the State's retardation center. When Mrs. A. objected, Welfare officials obtained a neglect ruling in State court and removed Mary and James from their home anyway. (The Welfare Department did not remove Mrs. A's--the "unfit" parent's--three remaining children.) Mrs. A. did not understand why her children were taken; she was not properly informed that she was entitled to legal representation at this hearing. Neither the local school system nor any other government agency had offered to provide assistance and training in a less restrictive environment for the two children threatened with removal.[36]

> I have an allocations worker. I have a caseworker, I have my caseworker's supervisor. None of them ever met me. They don't know what I look like. All they know is what my psychological test said....The allocations worker is supposed to find a group home that is right for me, but she's never met me, she doesn't know what kind of a person I am. How can she find a group home....And this is the same for all the people there...I'm not just one special case.[37]
>
> Thelma, age 15

Thelma is right; there are tens of thousands more children with similar problems. Black children are overrepresented among the more than 500,000 children growing up in foster homes, group homes, and other institutions, and black and other minority children are particularly vulnerable to public neglect once placed out of their homes.

Black children without homes are likely to receive few services, and to have a history of more than one out-of-home placement. Social Service agencies often write off these black children as "unadoptable," making only limited attempts to find them families. If public systems recognized or took more advantage of informal supports in the black community--relatives who are willing to take in their nieces, nephews, and cousins, and neighbors and local churches that can provide help to families--many black children now placed in institutions that are often too restrictive, inappropriate, and far from their home communities could remain at home or at least in their hometowns.

. Nonwhite children are placed in facilities for homeless, retarded, handicapped, and emotionally disturbed children at rates about 40% greater than white children.

. Black children live apart from relatives, in foster homes and in informal group quarters, at about three times the rate of white children.

. Minority youths in institutions for the mentally retarded are, on the average, much younger than white youths. The median age of nonwhite residents in institutions for the retarded is 17; for whites, 29.

The current anti-family child welfare system is on the verge of reform with the passage of the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980. The new law holds out to the over half million children growing up in foster, group, and institutional care a chance to return home or be placed for adoption as appropriate. Until now, our child welfare system has had short-sighted, almost perverse fiscal incentives. At the federal level we have paid hundreds of millions of dollars a year to keep children in costly and impermanent foster and institutional care, and little or nothing to support them in permanent placements with adoptive families. For the first time federal reimbursement will be available for preventive services to families and for adoption subsidies. However, unless sound regulations are developed and implemented and adequate funding to implement the new legislation is appropriated, the new law will not work.

In states such as Alabama and Illinois not enough parents are found to take homeless black infants into their lives, largely due to poor outreach by public and private agencies responsible for these children. These infants will grow up, as will thousands of older homeless black youngsters and adolescents, without the psychological roots vital to their security.

X. CRIME AND ARRESTS

> Q: Are you ever frightened?
> A: Yeah. Cause my mother be sayin' when the garbage get full she don't want my sisters go out there cause some mens come out from the back, wait, and try to rape your daughter. And that's why she tell me or my older brother to take it out.
> Q: And how do you feel when you take out the garbage?
> A: Makes me a little--uh--frightened.[38]
>
> Jerry, age 11

> I shot craps; won a lot of money. Cracked niggers upside the head with pop bottles. I even started fights occasionally. I was a gang leader for little poohbut gangs who ran around and stuck up kids and took their money. I didn't get nothin' but education everyone should know.[39]
>
> Gordon Andrews, age 16, later became
> captain of his school's wrestling team,
> and planned to continue on to college.

Many black children and adolescents grow up in fear of being victimized by crime.

. Out of every 32 nonwhite females between the ages of 16 and 19, one is a victim of serious crime each year, (i.e., robbery or assault, with injury; assault with a weapon; and rape).

. Among 16 to 19 year-old nonwhite males, one out of 17 is a victim of serious crimes each year.

. Nonwhite males 15 to 19 years-old, are almost six times as likely to be murdered as white males of the same age; nonwhite females 15 to 19 years-old are over four times as likely to be murdered as white females.

. Shockingly, the murder rate among nonwhite preschoolers one to four years old, is higher than the murder rate among white teenagers.

. Black children are far more likely to get arrested than white children. Between the ages of 11 and 17, a black teenager is seven times as likely as a white youth to be arrested for violent crimes, and is twice as likely to be arrested for serious property crimes. More than half of all arrests of black teenagers, compared with more than one-third of all arrests of white teenagers, are for serious violent or property crimes.

Whether a child is the victim of a crime or arrested for a crime, the impact of the event can permanently change his image of himself and his world. We must concentrate our efforts on preventive programs that lessen the probability that children will grow up feeling unsafe or alienated, with negative views of themselves and the society in which they live.

XI. CONCLUSION

The disparity in opportunity for black children is a blight on the nation's professed belief in and rhetoric about equal opportunity. In the 1980's, black children and families must become a major focus of black communities and of our political leaders and policymakers for moral as well as practical reasons. It is more humane and cost-effective to prevent and deal with the problems of black children before they occur or become serious and require costly remediation. Public and private sector policies must build on the considerable strengths of black families and enable them, to the extent possible, to stay together and become more self-sufficient. At present too many programs and policies undermine families' and children's well-being.

A specific set of programmatic goals to address the range of problems described here must be developed. With a relatively modest investment in fairly administered and preventive measures, children can grow into assets. To the extent that the skills and talents of our children and youth are developed, our productivity as a nation is enhanced and our burden to provide for them is decreased.

Every American child is entitled to a fair chance. Millions of black children are not getting theirs. Those white Americans who think that they are should ask themselves, like Miami's Mayor Ferre did, whether they'd care to trade places. That so many black families have helped their children survive and succeed despite the hurdles of unemployment, poor health care, and nutrition is a tribute to their strength and persistence.

FOOTNOTES

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[3] Children's Defense Fund, Portrait of Inequality: Black and White Children in America (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 1980). All statistics and facts included in this article which are not footnoted are based on data and sources used in this book.

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[5] Fifteenth Anniversary Head Start Committee, Head Start in the 1980's: Review and Recommendations, Publications Unit, Project Head Start, Health and Human Services Department, September 1980, pp. 28-34.

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[8] Robert B. Hill, "Black Families in the 70's," in The State of Black America: 1980, ed. by James D. Williams (New York: National Urban League, Inc., 1980), p. 48.

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[10] Children's Defense Fund, Children Out of School in America (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, October 1974), p. 31.

[11] Johnny Vaughn, "You don't cut the streets; they cut you," New Expression (September 1978).

[12] Hill, op. cit., p. 45.

[13] Excerpt from an unpublished interview with Mary Lynn Porter, Auburn, Alabama, October 29, 1980, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C.

[14] Excerpt from an unpublished interview with Mrs. L., Auburn, Alabama, October 29, 1980, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C.

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[17] Children's Defense Fund, Child Health Advocacy Is Everybody's Business (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, June 1979), p. 1.

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[21] Children's Defense Fund, EPSDT: Does It Spell Health Care for Poor Children? (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, June 1977), pp. 29-30.

[22] Children's Defense Fund, Children Out of School in America (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, October 1974), pp. 25-26.

[23] Ibid., pp. 20-21. After years of litigation, CDF and the State of Mississippi have entered into a consent decree guaranteeing the 40,000 handicapped children in the state a right to education suitable to their needs. See Mattie T. v. Charles E. Holladay (DC-75-31-S).

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THE RIGHTWARD DRIFT IN AMERICA

By

Gerald R. Gill

I. INTRODUCTION

Preliminary analyses and assessments of the results of the recent Presidential and Congressional elections offer varying interpretations for the "Reagan landslide." According to some accounts the Republicans' victories on the national, state and local level were solely a repudiation of the policies and programs of the Carter Administration. Other analysts, some rather gleeful and others rather somber, view the election results as more than the collective expression by most voters of "no confidence" in the administration of Jimmy Carter and in the stewardship of the Democratic Party. These latter assessments interpret the results of the election as a "mandate for change." In their assessments they note that the overall results, particularly in the Senatorial and Congressional races, may have signalled the permanent weakening, if not the end, of "liberalism" and "big government." The repeated cries and charges of "get government off of our backs" and "get government out of our lives" express what appears to be both the will and desire of a sizeable number of Americans for a significant reduction in the role played by the federal government in the welfare and well-being of the entire citizenry.

More definitive analyses of the "mandate" expressed by the voters await both the inauguration of the new administration and the enunciation of its specific policies. However, the election results do mark the emergence of a new era in American political and social life.

While it may be too early to sound the death knell for liberalism and for the American version of the welfare state, the results do reveal in rather bold and in rather striking fashion that the nation's political and social mood continues to move further and further to the right. No longer is it simply a question, as was posed several years ago "Is America Turning Right?"[1] Indeed that question now appears to be moot. What several scholars and commentators had noticed and observed throughout the 1970's as a rightward, more conservative mood looming in the nation has apparently emerged as a more pronounced, far more distinct shift to the right. Now the crucial questions, although partly answered, are _why_ and _how far_ has the nation moved to the right? More importantly, _how has_ and _how will_ this continuous and more conservative shift of political and social behavior affect the status and situation of black Americans.

This paper seeks to examine and to answer these questions. The first section examines the causes that have led to the increasingly more conservative mood in the nation. The second section examines how the combined _effect_ of these causes - the result of the present economic climate and current perceptions about blacks - has produced a "new negativism" and a "meanness mania,"[2] attitudes and behavior reflective of increased hostility towards governmental and societal efforts in behalf of blacks, other minorities and the poor. Much of this "new negativism" and "meanness mania" has been fueled by arguments of conservative and neo-conservative scholars who strongly question the efficacy of continued initiatives in behalf of blacks and the poor.

II. THE RIGHTWARD DRIFT IN AMERICA

From the late 1960's and through the 1970's scholars and social commentators have viewed the changes taking place in American political and social thought and behavior. Some have viewed the years as the "Me Decade" or "the culture of narcissism," times in which many Americans became involved, almost to the point of hedonism, in the pursuits of self interest. In their analyses and commentaries they describe the behavior and lifestyles of Americans more concerned with fulfilling individual self-interests than in continuing to confront the challenges facing society at large.[3]

Others have seen these years as times expressive of a "changing mood" and reflective of an increasing conservatism among Americans. The thrust of public policy and societal concern towards the problems of blacks, other minorities, and the poor had started to erode. Instead of calls for the attainment of a "Great Society," the early 1970's saw calls for a period of "benign neglect." As Faustine C. Jones has written, a changing mood was astir, one "more negative than positive" in its attitudes towards blacks.[4]

The middle years of the 1970's saw the continuing erosion of governmental and societal efforts in behalf of blacks, other minorities and the poor. Instead of a changing mood, there was a changed mood. In areas of public policy, the nation's mood had changed towards postures and positions more hardened and more hostile towards blacks and the poor. In the view of many, the nation was continuing its rightward move, but the pace had quickened.[5] Thus we arrive in the 1980's with conservatism very much a fact of life.

Several reasons and factors, to a degree inter-related, best explain the drift to the political right. One of the prime reasons is the growing "hawkishness" on matters of foreign policy. Fears and doubts among many Americans about military preparedness and present defense capabilities, the world's perception of the United States as a "pushover," and military incursions in both Asia and Africa by the Soviet Union and its allies have led to calls for a re-assertion of American military strength and increased spending for defense. Consequently, public support for increases in defense spending is at its highest level in the last decade and a majority of the American public supports both registration of draft age youth and the resumption of the draft.[6]

These increased calls for defense spending are being voiced at the same time as more and more Americans are voicing their opposition to and resentment of governmental and societal efforts in behalf of blacks, other minorities and the poor. Growing fears of economic uncertainty among many Americans, due in large part to the current state of the economy, and in increasing feelings of both indifference and hostility towards blacks help to further explain the "conservative drift."

The inherent optimism for a better life, so much a part of the American psyche since the end of World War II, has been altered sharply within the past decade. A sluggish economy characterized the decade of the 1970's and has continued into the 1980's. The current economic situation of a projected annual rate of inflation of 13% and unemployment in excess of 7.6% has exacerbated the fears of many Americans. As the rate of economic growth grew more slowly throughout the 1970's and as the inflation rate soared upwards, there rose increasing fears among many Americans about their economic well-being and personal security.

In the minds of many, "government spending," particularly for social welfare programs was the culprit. These feelings among a growing number of Americans have led to what has been termed the "end of 'middle class altruism.'"[7] Whereas, American society could afford to be more generous and more caring in an era of economic growth, the American people, mired in a contracting economy, became less concerned with the plight of others. As altruism faded, self-interest, motivated by anxiety and fear, emerged. To alleviate these anxieties and fears, an increasing number of middle income Americans have become far more assertive in defending their own interests and far less sympathetic in responding to and/or heeding the needs of others.

Indeed the thrust of public policy, as indicated by voter initiatives such as the "tax revolt" in several states and much of the legislation passed by Congress, is directed towards middle income and upper middle income families. The prime victims of the tax revolt initiative have been those most dependent upon public and social services - blacks and the poor. The thrust of an increasing share of the legislation passed by Congress benefits, directly and indirectly, consciously and unconsciously, members of both the middle and upper middle class. In recent sessions, Congress has been unsuccessful in passing new legislation reforming the welfare system, providing for a comprehensive program of aid to the cities, and national health insurance. Yet, in moving away from concerns and legislation benefiting "the other America," Congress has been able to pass legislation benefiting the most affluent members of society. For example, the most recent "tax reform" legislation has significantly reduced the capital gains taxes for the most affluent.

Even the most recent legislation providing increased federal aid for college and university students, the Education Amendments of 1980, is thought to be more beneficial to upper middle income families than to either middle income or lower income families. According to estimates from the College Entrance Examination Board, under the new Amendments low and lower middle income families (families with incomes up to $12,000) may have to pay proportionately more for their children to attend college while upper middle income families (families with incomes exceeding $33,000) may be paying proportionately less. In the opinions of financial aid officers and policy analysts, these new amendments favor those most able to pay for college expenses at the expense of those least able to pay.[8]

III. CHANGED ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS, OTHER MINORITIES AND THE POOR

Much of the current impetus, direct or indirect, for the growing disinclination and/or hostility to help blacks stems from the present perceptions, or better yet misperceptions, of the status and situation of blacks. Throughout the 1970's and continuing into the 1980's a majority of white Americans surveyed in public opinion polls have expressed the view that blacks have made great progress toward achieving equality and are no longer the victims of discrimination. A Gallup poll conducted earlier this year found that two-thirds of the white respondents believed that blacks and whites were treated "the same" in their respective home communities. Nearly three-fourths of the white respondents also indicated their belief that the quality of life for blacks had improved during the past decade.[9]

Black respondents, however, are hardly as optimistic in their responses and assessments as whites. They certainly do not agree with those who assert that there is a "post-racist America" where discrimination is virtually non-existent.[10] In repeated polls conducted over the last few years, an increasing number of black respondents have indicated that discrimination in all levels of employment, in job opportunities and in housing still exists. Nor are blacks as optimistic about the nature of race relations in their home communities. While 45% of black respondents believe they are treated "the same" as whites, an equal percentage contend either they are treated "not very well" (31%) or treated "badly" (14%). And a majority of blacks, albeit bare, contend that the quality of life for blacks had not improved over the decade. What accounts for these differing perceptions - marked progress as viewed by whites and qualified and more limited progress as witnessed and experienced by blacks? Whites' perceptions are based on comparisons and rememberences of how conditions used to be. Blacks' perceptions, mindful of the degree of progress attained, still recognize the tasks ahead in eradicating discrimination.[11]

Polls reveal that an increasing number of white Americans are committed to the concept and the ideal of integration. Many of them believe that true equality of opportunity has been attained as a result of the passage of civil rights laws. Thus they contend there is no longer any need for special efforts - through affirmative action programs in education and employment and through continued government spending for social welfare initiatives. Such new attitudes, according to some social scientists, have led to "the modern form of prejudice," prejudice arising from opposition to governmental and societal efforts that are thought to favor blacks.[12]

These attitudes, fueled largely by economic uncertainty and by changed perceptions about blacks, may also be influenced and affected by lay commentators and social scientists who in recent books and magazine and newspaper articles have devoted considerable space to discussing the "new black middle class" and the "emergent black elite."[13] Increasingly, social scientists and other academics, some of whom were former friends and allies of the civil rights movement, have emerged as leading proponents of attempts and efforts to limit or to thwart the continuance of social welfare programs. Many of the aforementioned can be labelled as "neo-conservative," the subjects of considerable scholarly and lay examination in recent years.[14] A central tenet in the neo-conservative creed is the belief in a more limited role for a government at all levels. They repeatedly stress that government has attempted and is attempting to do too much and should reduce its role, particularly in the area of social policy. On such areas they have been joined by conservative scholars - usually of a more traditional bent - who oppose continued social welfare initiatives out of traditional fiscal and ideological considerations. Indicative of the views of the more traditional conservatives are the views of one scholar who contends: "The War on Poverty has been won except for a few mopping up operations."[15] Not only is such an assertion a grossly and deliberately misleading overstatement, but more importantly such an assertion symbolizes the callousness, almost to the point of flippancy, shown by an increasing number of scholars to the plight of the poor.

IV. THE "FAILURES" OF GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES: A REASSESSMENT

Politicians and academicians have continually attacked the programs of the "Great Society," particularly those programs in manpower training, education, and income redistribution that were designed to benefit blacks and the poor. Following the lead of former President Nixon who criticized the initiatives of the Great Society for "throwing money at problems," academics and public policy analysts have repeatedly bemoaned the costs, the "unintended consequences" and the "failures" of most of the initiatives of the Great Society.[16]

Contrary to the arguments of critics of goverment spending in behalf of the poor and the disabled, these expenditures are not the ones that have increased the federal budget within the last decade. As an example total expenditures for Aid for Families with Dependent Children and aid for the disabled totalled less than 10% of the federal budget during much of the 1970's. It should be pointed out that a vast amount of federal monies, thought to be going to "needy" recipients, provide mandated benefits that nearly all sectors of the total population can and do make use of - Social Security, government pensions and unemployment compensation.[17]

Strong and rather impressive evidence exists that the programs of the Great Society were not costly failures. Much of this evidence points to the benefits both to individuals and to society at large that have resulted and can continue to result from the continuance of social welfare programs. An objective assessment of some of these programs is helpful.

A. Education

Current assessments of government spending and government initiatives for "early intervention" in the lives of children find far more successes than previously noted. The Head Start program is one such program. Recent studies point to real and lasting benefits to both individuals and to the larger society as the result of this program. Comparing the skills and achievement levels attained by students who had been enrolled in Head Start programs with control groups who had not, these studies found that Head Start enrollees have scored higher on achievement tests in reading and mathematics, have done better on IQ tests, have been held back less frequently, and have been placed less often in remedial and/or special education classes.

These gains are not confined solely to the enrollees' achievements in school but can be projected into potential benefits in earnings. Based upon a cost-benefit analysis of Head Start programs in Ypsilanti, Michigan, analysts have found that the benefits of participation in the programs significantly as well as substanitally outweigh the costs. There, the benefits--declining need for special education and remedial programs and projected increases of lifetime earnings of enrollees--outweigh the costs by 236%. Similar assessments have been found in other cities across the country and prove rather emphatically that benefits and gains do occur from early childhood intervention programs.[18]

From schools across the nation, studies are also noting gains in reading skills and in achievement test scores for students enrolled in both the Follow Through program for students enrolled in elementary school, and for students enrolled in Title I programs. In New York

City, for example, students enrolled in Follow Through were found to have raised their scores from those reported earlier.[19]

Much can be learned from the more successful programs in 'early intervention' and can be made to apply to both the implementation and revision of other programs. Yet, as impressive and as potentially beneficial as these programs are, they serve far fewer than the number eligible. Further efforts to expand the offerings of Head Start, even in a climate and atmosphere of "reduced government spending," should be made. For Head Start is and should be viewed as both an educational and social "bargain," one well worth the price.[20]

B. Manpower Training

Critics of manpower programs and federally-created jobs programs cite "costliness" as a major reason why the private sector, not government, should handle such initiatives. Much of their criticism has been directed against the Job Corps and the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) as federal programs gone astray. Their arguments often neglect to ask why has the government involved itself in providing both job training and job creation programs. In spite of tax credits for businesses to train both the hard-core and temporarily unemployed, the private sector has not committed itself fully to providing both training and jobs for blacks. While the private sector is attempting to become more involved, the federal government has had to assume a major role in this area.

In spite of repeated criticisms, the Job Corps has enjoyed far more success than its detractors contend. Enrollees who have completed the training program receive higher wages and are unemployed less often than are dropouts from the Corps centers and non-participants. As cited by Bernard Anderson in State of Black America - 1980, black male and female graduates of the Corps have reported average weekly improvements in salary.[21]

The criticisms of CETA programs often cloud their accomplishments, particularly as CETA programs have moved away from providing public service employment to providing, in conjunction with both small and large businesses, needed job-training programs. One such CETA-sponsored program is the Private Sector Initiative Program (PSIP), a joint public sector-private sector venture. Under PSIP, the federal government and the private sector, through private industry councils, cooperate in providing job training for the hard core unemployed and those temporarily unemployed. Job training programs are placed under the control of the local councils who, in conjunction with local employers, emphasize job training to fill guaranteed jobs. The programs in New York City and in Boston, both considered model programs, have been able to place individuals in what have been to date, guaranteed and permanent jobs. In New York City, the Council had been able to place approximately 600 individuals in jobs in less than a year's operation and was seeking to train and to place up to 5,000 individuals during 1980.[22]

To overemphasize these gains in light of continuing high levels of black unemployment, currently in excess of 14%, would be an exercise in oversell. A more misleading approach, however, is to contend that there is little for government to do in providing support for job training programs. The role of government in providing job training may change - from that of initiator and employeer to that of partner, but there still is the need for government involvement to ensure the training and employability of individuals deemed "unemployable."

C. Aid To Families of Dependent Children

Perhaps the most bitterly opposed program emanating from the Great Society has been increased spending for Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) over the past 15 years. Critics point to individual abuses of AFDC and cite examples of waste and fraud in the delivery of social services. Others criticize AFDC for its allegedly creating and fostering "welfare dependency" among its recipients.

Attempts to address the charges of "welfare dependency" have been undertaken over the years. One such program has been the Work Incentive Program designed to provide job training, assistance and subsidized employment to female recipients of AFDC payments. Modest gains have resulted from the Work Incentive Program, but these gains cannot be minimized.[23]

In recent sessions of Congress legislation has been introduced to reform the welfare system. The Social Welfare Reform Amendments, introduced into Congress in 1979, were designed to reform public assistance by:

1) targeting assistance to recipients on the basis of actual income
2) strengthening work incentives
3) improving both the adequacy of benefits and coverage by establishing a national minimum level for public assistance
4) continuing to streamline and coordinate the administration of programs to reduce waste and fraud.[24]

While this legislation has been passed by the House, it has not been passed by the Senate.

Yet some critics of AFDC have gone beyond any call for reform.

Alternative proposals have called for the steady reduction in welfare benefits as a means of "reform." In language reminiscent of late nineteenth-century Social Darwinists, one critic has suggested that AFDC be made "worse, not better" to encourage the poor to work harder.[25]

Such arguments for "reform" do not consider what AFDC programs fully represent to the recipients. As recognized by some conservative scholars, AFDC payments do benefit the "genuinely needy" in American society - those who can not and are not able to find employment, particularly in the present economic climate.[26] The administration of AFDC has not been without shortcomings, but waste and fraud in the delivery of vital services are being eliminated. Both an honest and candid assessment of AFDC would reveal:

> The charges that AFDC has been a colossal failure must be recognized for what they are, simplistic political sloganeering. The developments during the Great Society and subsequent years were more positive than negative, moving toward a comprehensive system with adequate benefits. Though the development process was somewhat of an ordeal, it was positive in its directions and effects.[27]

Like AFDC, the food stamp program is under attack by conservative scholars and politicians. In recent remarks Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina has called for the reduction of the food stamp program to the "truly needy" - the elderly, the sick, the blind, and the crippled. Nowhere does he mention that the vast majority of Americans receiving food stamps are the poor and working poor. To the poor and working poor, the food program has been and remains "one of the unsung yet most effective anti-poverty efforts of the last 15 years." The recently released report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity substantiates this view. According to the NACEO report, both AFDC and the food stamp program have helped to alleviate the plight of the poor.[28]

The Great Society initiatives and subsequent programs in behalf of blacks and the poor have not been the "massive failures" as described by their detractors. Real and concrete gains to both individuals and to society at large have been realized. The overall percentage of Americans living in poverty has declined over the past 20 years. According to recent figures the percentage of blacks living below the poverty level has declined from 55.1% to 30.6% of the black population. Quite obviously, both the number and percentage of blacks living in poverty remain as unresolved problems demanding the continuous attention of policy makers and individuals and organizations committed to the attainment of economic equity. Such attention calls for the need for continued governmental and societal efforts and recommitment to eradicate poverty. Americans ought not to be blinded into believing that the "War on Poverty" has been won. While successes in education and to a degree in employment have been attained, the continuance of these gains must now be sustained.

D. The Minimum Wage

Conservative critics of programs in aid of the poor and the working poor contend that "government restrictions" such as the minimum wage hinder the employment opportunities for blacks, particularly teenagers. Increases in the minimum wage, they argue, have led to the elimination of many lower-paying jobs traditionally held by teenagers. In addition, increases in the minimum wage lead to the increasing reluctance of employers to pay youths wages in excess of their market value. To alleviate youth unemployment, they call for a "youth differential wage," if not the elimination of the minimum wage.[29]

The minimum wage does lead to tradeoffs in the economy--increased hourly earnings vs. the loss of jobs. For adults the income gains outweigh the loss of jobs. It has been estimated that increases in the minimum wage raise the salaries of over five million workers. As one scholar has noted the minimum wage "is perhaps the most direct and comprehensive measure to increase the earnings of the working poor."[30]

Increases in the minimum wage do cause the loss or elimination of some types of jobs traditionally held by young workers. But the job loss is not as severe as is often alleged by the critics.[31] This is not to underestimate the job losses, but to suggest that factors other than the minimum wage are responsible for the tragically high unemployment rates among black teenagers. While educational attainment may be a factor, it too is not the dominant factor. As Robert Hill has pointed out, the unemployment rate of white high school dropouts (16.7%) is equal to that of black college graduates (16.5%) and is less than that of blacks who attended college. (21.4%).[32]

Black youths do not find out about the availability of jobs as readily as do white youths. Black teenagers, by and large, are and still remain outside of the network of personal and familial connections that provide information about the access and availability of jobs. Moreover, with the possible exception of the fast food industry, the types of jobs best suited for teenage employment are not located in inner-city neighborhoods most easily and most accessible to black teenagers.[33]

According to Bureau of Labor Statistics, black teenage unemployment currently exceeds 37%. That figure continues to point out that factors other than the minimum wage hinder and thwart employment opportunities for black youths. But will teenage unemployment be reduced by instituting a youth differential? If so, how will a youth differential wage be implemented? Evidence to date suggests possibly that a youth differential wage would not substantially reduce unemployment. Existing provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act allow employers to pay students, trainees and the handicapped at less than the minimum wage. Currently, approximately four million employees, agricultural and non-agricultural, earn approximately 85% of the minimum wage. Roughly 500,000 of these employees are students, while almost another quarter-million are employed in the fast food industry, one of the largest employers of teenagers. Thus existing provisions allow for the hiring of teenagers at less than the minimum wage, but employers all too often neither request nor make use of the exemptions.[34]

Conservative legislators have announced their attempts to introduce sub-minimum wage legislation. Under the proposed legislation, youth aged 17 to 20 will receive 75% of the minimum wage upon their being hired. After training programs, their wages will be raised to the prevailing wage. However, as columnist William Raspberry has astutely observed, flaws are quite apparent in the proposal. Essentially, teenagers who "lost" their jobs due to increases in the minimum wage would be replaced by teenagers hired at a subminimum wage. These new workers, within six-months, would be earning the full wage. In essence, a revolving pool of teenage labor subject to replacement would be established.[35]

V. THE OPPOSITION TO BUSING

In addition to the growing antipathy and hostility towards continuing efforts and programs in behalf of blacks and the poor, there have been concerted attacks against both busing as ordered by federal courts and against affirmative action programs in education and in employment. While many Americans support the concepts of integration and equal opportunity, they oppose specific means and strategies designed to achieve those goals.

Over the past several years both the efficacy of and the results of busing as ordered by federal courts have been debated and argued among social scientists. Some argue that mandatory busing has been a "failure" educationally and socially, having resulted in neither the attainment of quality education and/or racially integrated schools. Their arguments, often repeated and alluded to by politicians, continue to reflect and to legitimize the further retreats from the attainment of equal education opportunity.

In spite of popular appeals to the "failures of busing" and "white flight" one needs to assess more fully the question: has and does mandatory busing lead to quality education? The results from major studies of school desegregation, both voluntary and mandatory, appear to be "yes." The imposition of busing, according to both supporters and opponents, has not and does not result in a decline in the achievement skills of white students. Contrary to earlier "evidence," the results of the great majority of studies of the implementation of busing have found increases in the achievement scores of black students. While increases have been noticeable under both voluntary desegregation plans and mandatory desegregation plans, the gains are far more likely to result from mandatory desegregation plans.[36]

What accounts for the successes of mandatory desegregation plans in helping to bring about increased educational achievement among black students? Such plans, far more often than voluntary plans, require various segments of the community - business and educational institutions as well as educators, parents and concerned citizens - to come together and to deal squarely with the questions of both the implementation of desegregation and the attainment of quality education. New options and alternatives are often the result. In cities across the country magnet schools or alternative schools designed to respond to specific educational needs of students and to help promote racial integration have been established.

In Houston and Boston, school systems thought to have some of the nation's better magnet schools, such alternative schools are the direct result of court orders. Houston has created "magnet schools" providing education in the visual and performing arts, bilingual education, and in academic reinforcement. Other schools, enjoying increased contact with the major industries in Houston, stress vocationally-oriented education in the fields of aerodynamics and petrochemistry.

While more publicity has been given to the racial violence following the desegregation of Boston's public schools, the educational gains can not minimized. Boston has set up one of the best and most comprehensive systems of magnet schools in the nation. As a result of the court order, educational, cultural and financial institutions in and around Boston are linked up with respective high schools and magnet schools. Programs and instruction in a high school for the arts are linked to those offered by the New England Conservatory, Boston Symphony, and Northeastern University. A new high school for science has been opened with close relations to both MIT and Logan Airport. At South Boston High, increasing numbers of white students are going on to college, many of whom are the direct beneficiaries of the improvements in educational opportunity.[38]

VI. THE OPPOSITION TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In spite of recent Supreme Court decisions upholding the basic concept of affirmative action programs in education, employment, and government contracts, the concept and implementation of affirmative action is under increased and, in many instances, more virulent and vehement attack. As the Supreme Court has spoken more clearly and more definitively on the legality of race-conscious remedies as strategies to overcome the effects of past and present discrimination, critics of such efforts have become more shrill and more hostile in their attacks. This correlation exemplifies the negativism and the meanness behind the charges that government and society have been and are doing "too much" in behalf of blacks.

The Supreme Court's decision in Bakke has been the subject of much commentary and debate. One point of contention has been its effects on the admission and enrollment of black students into graduate and professional schools. Some have argued that the decision has had "no negative effect" in enrollment. However, the "chilling effect" predicted by others seems more and more ominous. Enrollment in American medical schools in the Fall of 1980, according to the American Association of Medical Schools, is at an "all-time high," but the percentage of black students has declined to 5.7%.[39]

The Court's decisions in both United Steelworkers v. Weber and Fullilove v. Kluznick have upheld the initiatives of both private organizations and Congress to provide race-conscious remedies. These decisions have increasingly broadened the scope and potentiality of race-conscious remedies in providing increased employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for blacks. Other businesses and industries, estimated to be in excess of 175,000, have formally committed themselves to increase and to expand opportunities for blacks.[40]

Yet each decision, directly and indirectly, brings forth cries for the relaxing if not the ending of affirmative action programs. Some critics continually suggest that colleges and universities should be considered as "special" government contractors, not subject to the same regulations as business and industry. Instead, they say, colleges and universities, through self-regulation, would be able to enforce the "spirit" of affirmative action. Evidence, past and present, does not support their contention. For too long the hiring practices of colleges and universities discriminated against black candidates for positions. "Self-regulation" does not necessarily insure that there will not be a return to the old boy network. Nor does "self-regulation" seem to be an effective mechanism in behalf of black candidates for tenure, some of whom have been denied tenure for some rather spurious reasons.[41]

Other critics, citing public opinion polls, contend that the "spirit" of affirmative action can be met, not through the establishing of goals and timetables, but through the establishing of government sponsored job training and educational "catch-up" programs.[42] Many of those who oppose federal job training for the unemployed contend that such efforts are "too expensive" and are "failures." In a complete reversal, a good many of the same people approve of federally sponsored programs as an alternative to affirmative action programs. Such attitudes towards job training vis-a-vis affirmative action are clearly reflective of some of the contraductions in the arguments of many of those who cry "get government off of our back" and who bemoan "government spending."

Has affirmative action been worth the hostility? The answer is "yes." Many of the "emergent black elite," so widely touted in conservative and neoconservative literature as examples of "black progress," have benefitted from affirmative action programs. Affirmative action, according to the results of a recent poll released by Black Enterprise, has been "the biggest single factor in the dramatic upsurge in the number of blacks in corporate management and the skilled trades."[43]

Contrary to the arguments of its critics, the benefits accruing from affirmative action programs are not confined to a small elite of well-educated-individuals. Affirmative action programs are increasingly being established in both the public and private sector - opening up job opportunities at all levels of municipal and private employment.

However, like other indicators of "black progress," the effectiveness of affirmative action depends heavily upon the commitment of the industry and institution involved and the health of the job market and larger economy. This can be seen in the application of affirmative action to colleges and universities, where the percentage of faculty members rose from 2.2% in 1968-1969 to 4.4% in 1977. The increase was due in large measure to affimative action. However, because of the declining market for college and university teachers and what many perceive to be a declining institutional commitment, that percentage has remained the same since 1975.[44]

The overall success of affirmative action can not be established without looking at the overall economy. Rather impressive gains have been recorded as a result of affirmative action programs, but the larger question is can such gains be sustained in the present economic environment? Perhaps one of the most telling commentaries is the fate of the affirmative action plan for the Police Department of Detroit. The plan, ambitious in design and vigorously enforced, increased the percentage of black police officers from 18% to 39% in less than four years. The program, while able to withstand court challenges from officers charging reverse discrimination, has fallen victim to declining city revenues as a majority of the officers laid off were black.[45] Do such stories suggest that affirmative action programs be discontinued in a declining economy? No! In the words of one legal scholar, "results have been far more effective with goals and timetables, even in economic scarcity, than in boom conditions without goals timetables."[46]

VII. VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACKS: IS A BACKLASH BREEDING VIOLENCE?

Have the worsening economic climate and the current hostile attitudes towards governmental and societal efforts in behalf of blacks produced a climate more tolerable of and more conducive to acts of harassment and violence directed against blacks? Events throughout the country, both in recent months and recent weeks, have confirmed these fears in the minds of many blacks. The murders of 11 black youngsters and the disappearance of four others in Atlanta, the killing of six black men in and around Buffalo, and the sniper killings and wounding of blacks throughout the country have led to increasing fears and anxieties among blacks.

At the same time the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party are becoming more visible and more active throughout the country. The acquittal of the six members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party involved in the shootout with the Communist Workers Party in North Carolina has led many to believe that there is a climate in America more tolerable of violence, directly or indirectly, targeted against blacks.

Does the increased violence portend that "meanness" and "negativism" - manifestations of backlash - are lurching increasingly towards violence? Historians, sociologists and other social scientists have long observed that in times of economic frustration and discontent in this country, acts of violence directed against blacks have increased. Economic frustrations and discontent have led historically to an increased number of lynchings and race riots. Many individuals, instead of channeling their dissent and anger at the source of their discontent, look for scapegoats.[47]

Similar frustration exist at the present and explain the source of much of the current discontent. In the current economic climate, any move or effort designed to benefit blacks is perceived to be at the expense of whites. And in such a climate of hostility, the acts and activities of those "striking back" at blacks are looked upon with less disdain.

VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Throughout the decade of the 1970's and now into the 1980's, the political and social mood of the nation continues to move further and further to the right. Nowhere has the more pronounced conservatism been evident than in the mounting attacks on "big government," "government spending" and "government regulation." These attacks in large part are reflective of the increased hostility toward social welfare efforts in behalf of blacks and the poor.

A review of social welfare efforts and strategies designed to bring about equal educational and employment opportunities shows that these initiatives have not been the "failures" so commonly depicted. In spite of charges of "fraud" and "welfare dependency," social welfare programs -

food stamps program and AFDC - provide much - needed assistance to genuinely needy recipients. Early childhood intervention programs, manpower training programs and affirmative action programs in education and in employment have brought and will continue to bring real and lasting benefits to countless individuals. While successes have been noted - successes worth the costs - much still needs to be done through the auspices of both the public and private sector to bring about a more equitable and a fairer society.

Given the current political and social mood in the nation, how does one convince both the American populace and an incoming administration pledged to reduce government spending of the efficacy for continued governmental efforts in behalf of blacks and the poor? This will be no easy task. While that course will be difficult, individuals and organizations interested in the attainment of racial equality and economic equity must be prepared to wage that fight. Part of that fight entails the calling of public attention to the successes of social welfare efforts. These successes show that government initiatives are not cases of "throwing money at problems" but they should make the nation aware once again that "money can make a difference."

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Footnotes

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THE BLACK VOTE IN A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR

By

Eddie N. Williams and Milton D. Morris

The black vote was not a decisive factor in the outcome of the 1980 presidential elections. Black support for Governor Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate, was not crucial to his victory, and in view of his large victory margin no level or configuration of black voting could have denied him the presidency. Nevertheless, black political activity in 1980 was better organized and more purposeful than it had ever been in connection with a presidential election.

The year's activities began with a national conference in Richmond, Va., in February to draft a black political agenda, and culminated in a December 11th Blair House meeting between the Black Leadership Forum[1] and President-elect Reagan. Black political participation, as well as overall national political events in 1980, might very well portend important new directions for blacks in their efforts to be genuinely influential participants in the political arena.

Selecting a president is the country's most important and formidable political undertaking. Not only does it involve intense competition among aspirants for the office, it is the process by which the electorate attempts to express broad preferences about the direction of national policies. Numerous interest groups compete vigorously to influence the choice of president and to shape the course of national policy for their own benefit. As a distinct and highly cohesive segment of the electorate, blacks have been among these competing interests. Because blacks historically have been forced to rely heavily on the beneficence of the federal government for their well being, selection of the president has been particularly crucial to them. A presidential election requires of them careful definition and vigorous articulation of their interests and mobilization of all the political resources at their disposal.

In reviewing black political participation in the 1980 presidential election, this paper focuses on: agenda setting, candidate selection, the black vote, and the implications of the outcome of the elections for blacks. Before turning to these issues, however, it is essential to note the circumstances and the atmosphere surrounding the elections.

The presidential election year began with mounting national economic difficulties, frustrating challenges on the international scene, and an apparently widespread public dissatisfaction with the overall performance of the federal government. The economic difficulties were evidenced by declining national productivity and by rising unemployment, inflation, and interest rates. The international problems were reflected in the continued holding of American hostages in Iran, by continued Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and by a pervasive public impression that U.S. military strength is declining vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. As these conditions deepened, a more conservative national mood became evident. The high cost of government, several major social programs, affirmative action programs, and the busing of school children to achieve racial integration of public schools, all came under vigorous attack. This apparent conservative shift in national politics and their own worsening economic condition made blacks especially restive and disappointed with the performance of the Carter Administration, which they had helped bring into office.

Blacks had supported presidential aspirant Jimmy Carter in some critical primaries in 1976 that eventually ensured his nomination as the Democratic Party's candidate for President. Later they provided decisive support in his election to office by giving him approximately 90% of their votes. When their presidential choice was sworn in on January 20, 1977, blacks anticipated an administration highly responsive to their needs and aggressive in tackling some of the social and economic problems that continued to haunt them. However, by 1980 many blacks charged that President Carter's performance had fallen far short of their expectations and had raised anew longstanding doubts about the extent to which black votes can be converted into tangible benefits. These circumstances produced considerable uncertainty about the extent to which blacks would participate in the 1980 presidential election and how they would vote. The experience of the past four years, especially among black leaders, suggested the need to identify more clearly and articulate more forcefully their most important national concerns.

Agenda Setting for 1980

1980 began with urgent efforts by blacks to prepare for the presidential election by formulating a national agenda which presidential aspirants who sought black votes would be asked to support. Toward this end, the Black Leadership Forum issued a call for a three-day "National Conference on a Black Agenda for the 80's" to be held in Richmond, starting on February 28, 1980. Other conveners of the conference were the National Council of Negro Women, National Conference of Black Mayors, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, National Black Leadership Roundtable, National Black Caucus of State Legislators, and the Congressional Black Caucus.

Altogether, more than 1,000 blacks, representing over 300 organizations across the country, gathered in Richmond to formulate an agenda of domestic and international issues of special concern to blacks. The Conference had three major accomplishments. First, it focused the attention of the black population and particularly of black leaders on several major issues of special concern to blacks. Second, in spite of inevitable difference among participants on several specific questions, the Conference achieved an unprecedented degree of consensus on the broad issues with which blacks should be concerned in the decade of the 1980s. Third, it produced a single document embracing these concerns which could help to guide black political participation in 1980 as well as in the decade ahead.[2]

The black agenda is noteworthy for its scope and for the relatively little emphasis it places on traditional civil rights issues. It advocates (1) domestic and foreign economic policies that are aimed at providing full employment opportunities and opportunities for development of black entrepreneurship; (2) reassessment of federal programs to improve the quality of education available to minorities, and provision of adequate financial assistance and health care for the needy; (3) curtailment of U.S. interaction with South Africa, and extension of a more equitable program of economic assistance to neighboring Caribbean countries; (4) steps by the government and political parties to mobilize the electorate and increase opportunities for full minority participation in the political process.

In spite of the important accomplishments of the Richmond Conference, its principal objective of extracting responses to the agenda from the candidates for President, was not achieved. None of the leading candidates accepted the Conference's invitation to attend and comment on the agenda, none endorsed it, and it did not figure prominently in the election debate. Moreover, the deteriorating economic conditions and the Iranian and Afghan problems, dominated national affairs, precluding serious attention by the news media to the black agenda. In view of the widespread inattentiveness to the agenda, many blacks concluded that their concerns were being ignored and that they were the victims of a cruel choice -- between one political party that took them for granted and one which ignored them altogether.

Of course, the success of the agenda building effort should not be measured entirely by the level of direct attention to or support for it by the presidential candidates. In the complex and highly competitive national political arena, it is unlikely that a wide-ranging agenda by blacks or any other distinct segment of the electorate, would win the endorsement of major candidates for President. Indeed, it might be argued that a warm embrace of a comprehensive black policy agenda could be detrimental to the political prospects of a serious candidate. Moreover, while in previous elections black political goals centered mainly around specific civil rights issues for which there was substantial popular sympathy, the agenda drawn up in 1980 embraced complex domestic and international issues that are likely to be subjects of protracted political struggle rather than immediate acceptance or rejection.

Blacks and Candidate Selection in 1980

The presidential election on November 4 was the culmination of a lengthy and complex process which began officially with the selection of delegates to each party's national convention which, in turn, selected the party's presidential candidate. The candidate selection or nominating process is a vital stage in the selection of a President not only because one candidate is chosen from among the several aspirants within each party, but also because the tone and direction of each party's position on major issues is shaped at this stage. Blacks have become increasingly active in the candidate selection process and in 1980 they were prominent participants in the candidate selection process in both parties, although much more so in the Democratic than in the Republican Party.

One means of participating in the selection of a presidential candidate is through the primaries conducted by the two major parties, and a Joint Center for Political Studies survey of primaries in five states -- Alabama, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania -- indicated extensive black participation. In the Democratic Party primaries blacks endorsed the renomination of President Carter, but showed increasing support for Senator Edward Kennedy as the selection process progressed. Thus, President Carter won decisive majorities of the black vote in early primaries in Florida, Alabama, and Illinois, states he won by large majorities. However, in later primaries he won only 52% of the black vote in New York, a state he lost to Senator Kennedy, and he lost both the black vote and the primary in Pennsylvania. (See Table 1).

On the Republican side, black participation was negligible in the primaries in Alabama, Florida, and New York. In Illinois and Pennsylvania where black political participation was substantial, blacks diverged somewhat from the majority of Republicans. In Illinois, 59.2% voted for favorite son, Congressman John Anderson, and 17.2% voted for Governor Reagan, while 48.2% of the total votes went to Reagan and 37% to Anderson. In Pennsylvania, blacks gave most of their votes to George Bush, the winner in that state, but Governor Reagan picked up 33%. (See Table 2).

It is noteworthy that with the exception of the Democratic primary in Pennsylvania, turnout by blacks was very close or equal to that of whites. In fact, turnout among black Republicans in Pennsylvania far exceeded that of the statewide Republican turnout.

By the time Republicans convened at Detroit's Cobo Hall on July 14, 1980, the contest for the party's nomination had ended and Governor Reagan was waiting to become the unanimous choice of the 1,993 assembled delegates. Fifty-six or 2.7% of those delegates were black. Only one black, Maryland State Senator Aris Allen, served in a prominent position as Secretary of the Convention. However, in an unusual gesture to blacks, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks was invited to address the convention.

A considerably larger contingent of black delegates and alternates was present in New York City's Madison Square Garden on August 11th for the Democratic National Convention. Here, the race for the party's nomination was not entirely over even though President Carter by that time had won a majority of the delegates. Of the 3,331 delegates and 2,053 alternates, 481 and 297 respectively were black, the largest number of black delegates and alternates ever to attend the national convention of one of the major parties. Sixty-eight percent of the black delegates were supporters of President Carter and 32% supported Senator Kennedy.

Not only were blacks well represented among the delegates and alternates and in the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, they were also actively involved in its three standing committees. Between 15 and 18 members of the Rules, Platform, and Credentials committees, or approximately 10-12%, were black. Moreover, the powerful Platform Committee was chaired by Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young. Such extensive involvement enabled blacks to contribute substanially to the development of the party's platform.

In neither party were blacks a decisive factor in the choice of the presidential candidate. In neither party was the contest for the nomination so close that strong support by blacks for a candidate would have been decisive. Clearly, however, blacks contributed to the candidate selection in both parties and at least in the Democratic Party their support was actively sought by the two contestants for the nomination.

The Black Vote in the Presidential Election

In what most analysts expected to be a very close election, the black vote was believed to be crucial to the outcome. Several observers suggested that President Carter's reelection would depend on solid black support and on a large black turnout, since the rest of the electorate seemed evenly divided or slightly favoring Governor Reagan. This assessment, shared by many black leaders, was justified in view of the size, distribution, and voting pattern of the black voting age population.

According to estimates by the U.S. Census Bureau for 1980, there were approximately 16,967,000 blacks of voting age in November 1980. This is 10.6% of the total voting age population. Table 3 shows that the heaviest concentration of black voters is in the South, where 16.8% of the voting age population is black, while the West has the fewest black voters, only 5% of the region's electorate. Probably the most important distributional feature of the black vote is its heavy concentration in six large Northeastern states that have been extremely important in presidential elections because of the large number of electoral votes they command: Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. No presidential candidate since Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 has won the presidency without winning at least three of these six states. In a closely contested election a cohesive black vote can easily be decisive in all of them.

In addition to its size and strategic location, the black vote has been remarkably cohesive and has become an increasingly prominent part of the

Democratic Party's electoral base.[3] Since 1936, when the majority of black voters shifted their support from the Republican Party to support Franklin D. Roosevelt, every Democratic Party candidate for President has won a majority of the black vote. Support for Democratic candidates became overwhelming in 1964 when, faced with an avowedly conservative Republican candidate widely viewed as hostile to civil rights, blacks voted 94% to 6% for the incumbent Democratic President Lyndon Johnson. Since that time no Republican candidate for President has won more than 12% of the black vote. In view of this voting pattern, few doubted that President Carter would win a majority of the black vote; the real questions were how large the majority would be, especially in view of the presence of independent candidate John Anderson, and to what extent blacks would turn out to vote?

Election day surveys conducted by the Joint Center reveal that the turnout rate for black voters in the 1980 presidential election was very close to that of 1976, that blacks again gave overwhelming support to President Carter, and that they exhibited much less uneasiness with this support than the news media and even some black leaders had anticipated.

Turnout by Black Voters

Data on registration and voting gathered by the Joint Center from about 800 randomly selected precincts with 90% or more of the population black, showed that 61.3% of the registered voters went to the polls. As table 4 shows, turnout by registered black voters was highest in the Northeast (67%) and lowest in the South (60%). Viewed by state, turnout by registered black voters was lowest in Texas (48.9%), Georgia (52.3%), and the District of Columbia (53.9%). It was highest in Oklahoma (75.5%), Louisiana (72.5%), and Massachusetts (71.8%).

Some pre-election estimates indicated that about 67% of all eligible black voters were registered. This would mean that approximately 11.4 million blacks were registered and that about seven million or 40% of the total black voting age population voted. The 61.3% of registered blacks who voted is about three percentage points lower than the Joint Center reported for 1976. However, the 40% of the total black voting age population is about two percentage points higher than in 1976.[4] These data might mean that the massive voter registration drive undertaken by Operation Big Vote [5] and by others increased black registration substantially, but that in 1980, a larger percentage of those registered voters failed to vote.

Viewed in the context of the turnout rate for the total electorate, turnout by black voters was encouraging. Just over 52% of the total voting age population voted in 1980, the third lowest turnout rate since 1928 and the fifth consecutive presidential election in which turnout declined. From what is known about non-voting in the United States, the largest non-voting segment of the electorate consists of the poor and the socially disadvantaged, a disproportionate number of whom are black.

The turnout rate for blacks in 1980 is especially encouraging when the style and content of the presidential election are considered. There was relatively little in either the style or issue content of the election to generate strong interest in voting among blacks. Perhaps reflecting the changed character of race in American politics, few explicitly racial issues were raised during the campaign. Moreover, in an election which emphasized use of the electronic media and massive public opinion surveys, the candidates rarely focused on black audiences or black voters.[6] Governor Reagan addressed the annual convention of the National Urban League in New York on August 5th, where he urged blacks to ignore the old liberal-conservative labels of the past and to view him as a viable alternative to the failing Democratic leadership. He spoke generally of the well-known social and economic problems facing blacks and held out his ideas of urban enterprise zones and increased minority business enterprise as promising strategies for the future.

President Carter's later address to a black audience in Atlanta's famed Ebenezer Baptist Church was one of his very few direct communications with black audiences. In that address he raised the specter of a Republican President insensitive to the racial problems faced by blacks but failed to articulate racial issues with which blacks could identify. Both candidates quietly turned aside an invitation by the Joint Center for Political Studies, Black Enterprise magazine, and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, to participate in a nationally televised debate focusing on issues of special concern to blacks. Instead, both camps relied mainly on surrogates to reach the black population.

Candidate Support by Blacks

The Joint Center's study of black voting in the 1980 presidential election shows that as in 1976, President Carter won the overwhelming majority of the black vote. Data from the sample of black precincts indicate that about 90% of the vote went to President Carter, 7% to Governor Reagan and about 2% to Congressman Anderson. A second sample, composed of exit interviews of black voters at randomly selected precincts in which 20% or more of the population is black (and which is thus more likely to reflect all socio-economic levels of the black population than the precinct sample) yielded only a slight difference in the distribution of the black vote -- 89% for Carter, 3% for Anderson, while Reagan's support remained unchanged.

As table 5 shows, the pattern of support for the candidates held across all regions of the country. However, Governor Reagan made his strongest showing among blacks in the Midwest, where he received approximately 12.3% of the black vote, while his poorest showing was in the Northeast with 4.9%. In spite of the very limited support Governor Reagan received from blacks nationally, the support he received in a few closely contested states was greater than his margin of victory and therefore might have influenced the outcome of the election in those states. This was true in Arkansas where Governor Reagan's margin of victory was 4,185 and he received approximately 6,500 black votes, and in Tennessee where his margin of victory was 5,732 and his black vote was about 8,700.

A closer look at the black vote from our exit interviews suggests that it was generally consistent with the pattern of party identification among blacks. Eighty-two percent of our sample of black voters said that they were registered as Democrats, 7% were registered Republicans, and 11% were independents. President Carter retained the support of virtually all black Democrats while pulling more than half the independent black voters and a quarter of the Republican voters. A majority of Congressman Anderson's support came from blacks who were registered as independents. Furthermore, contrary to the picture of the deeply dissatisfied black voter suggested by the media prior to the election, most blacks made up their minds about a choice of candidate early and felt generally satisfied about the choices available to them.

A telephone poll conducted by Data Black, a private polling organization, between September 29th and October 23rd found that 76% of the blacks who were likely to vote had already decided to vote for President Carter, while 3% had decided to vote for Governor Reagan and 3% for Congressman Anderson. Table 6 shows that 77% of the respondents in the Joint Center's exit interviews decided on their choice of candidate more than two weeks prior to the election, while only 6.9% did so within the previous 48 hours. Furthermore, 67% of the black voters felt very satisfied or somewhat satisfied about their choice of candidate. (See Table 7)

Indications are that although blacks were understandably dissatisfied with some aspects of the Carter Administration's performance, they had little difficulty in choosing to support President Carter for a second term. One reason for this might have been the special relationship that had existed between blacks and President Carter in 1976. Another might have been a hesitancy to vote for an avowedly conservative Republican for President. However, in spite of their strong support for President Carter, indications are that blacks were not particularly frightened by the prospect of a Reagan presidency. Many in fact voted for Governor Reagan while many others who were registered decided not to vote at all.

It is especially noteworthy that the independent candidacy of Congressman John Anderson failed to capture the attention and support of substantial numbers of blacks. For those blacks who might have been deeply disillusioned by the performance of the Carter Administration but who found the Republican Party an unacceptable alternative, Congressman Anderson might have seemed a suitable choice. However, in our black sample precincts, Anderson obtained less than 2% of the black vote. He received less than 3% in our exit interview sample. Our data indicate that he failed to attract the blacks registered as Democrats, won very limited support among black Republicans and drew most of his support from independent black voters.

The reasons for the failure of the Anderson candidacy to generate more support among blacks are not clear. It is likely, however, that the perception by blacks that his was not a viable candidacy and their reluctance to spend their vote in a gesture of protest, were important factors. Another might have been the failure of the Anderson campaign to focus on the black electorate at any point in the campaign.

Blacks and the 1980 Presidential Election: Implications for the Future

In spite of some misgivings, blacks chose overwhelmingly to continue their support for President Carter and the Democratic Party in the 1980 presidential election. In doing so, they stood virtually alone. Postmortems of the election indicate that every other segment of the electorate that had been strongly identified with the Democratic Party in the past, shifted toward the Republican Party. This was true of Mexican-American, Jewish and labor groups. The outcome of the election is understandably disappointing to blacks and it poses several profound and perplexing questions about black political participation in the years ahead.

One question involves the effectiveness of the black vote on the national scene. If the 1976 elections demonstrated the considerable national influence of the black electorate, the 1980 elections demonstrated its limitations. Thoughtful analysts of black politics have long noted that the special power of the black vote is its capacity to influence the outcome of closely contested presidential elections. This capacity derives from its size, cohesiveness, and from its concentration in pivotal or swing states. The presidential elections of 1960 and 1976 illustrate this role of the black electorate. However, when presidential contests are not close as in 1964, 1972 and 1980, the black electorate lacks any special clout.

The outcome of the 1980 presidential election left blacks probably more conscious than ever of the limits of their ability to influence the outcome of presidential elections. We observed earlier that although they participated extensively in candidate selection, they did not substantially influence the choice of candidates. On November 4th, a candidate was elected President with support from a smaller proportion of the black electorate than virtually any President in the history of this country. Furthermore, unlike elections in 1964 where the black vote was not crucial but the candidate whom blacks supported won, or even 1968 and 1972 where the candidate they supported lost but a moderate, largely pragmatic Republican won, in 1980 an avowed conservative was the winner.

On one level black concern about the outcome of the election stems from the belief that support for the winning candidate confers some special advantages. However, although some advantages probably accrue to segments of the electorate when the candidate they favor wins, it is easy to exaggerate these benefits. The political system is much too complex to permit a President to dispense either considerable rewards or penalties to any single segment of the electorate. Furthermore, Presidents, as politicians, are as likely to seek to strengthen their base of support by courting the uncommitted as they are to reward the committed for past support. Thus, while blacks are likely to be disadvantaged by their limited ties to the new President and by his position on some major issues, the results of the election might have substantial positive aspects.

One potential benefit of the outcome of the election is that it may have freed blacks to think more independently, creatively, and pragmatically about the pattern of their political participation in the future. The Republican Party, led by Governor Reagan, is in a good position to reach out to blacks, to demonstrate the Party's capacity to respond to their interests, and to incorporate them to a significant degree into the structure of the Party. In view of a longstanding uneasiness among blacks about the extent and persistence of their attachment to the Democratic Party, such an effort might be welcomed by many blacks.

The election results also provide an unprecedented opportunity for blacks to play a leading part in restructuring and redirecting the Democratic Party as it seeks to recover from the serious defeat of November. Especially important in this regard is the need to evaluate the implications of the changing demographic scene for the future of party competition. The apparently increasing strength of the Republican Party in the South and West, the regions experiencing rapid population growth, will undoubtedly require imaginative responses by the Democratic Party. In addition, the need to strengthen party organization from the grassroots up, and to formulate fresh, widely acceptable approaches to the major problems facing the country in the decades ahead is urgent and requires contributions by blacks. These are not easy tasks but they are exciting and challenging.

Another potential benefit of the outcome of the 1980 election is that it challenges blacks to a new and perhaps more sophisticated style of politics. Undoubtedly a Reagan Administration will seek different approaches to some of the chronic national problems that blacks have sought to address for the past several decades. Blacks will need to formulate some of their specific objectives and modify some of the strategies they have advocated in seeking to protect their interests. Moreover, blacks may be forced to make much stronger substantive contributions than they have in the past to the development of national policies in areas where extensive changes are contemplated.

Still another likely benefit for blacks might derive from the need to reemphasize self-help. The tendency to focus on the government for solutions to many of the pressing problems blacks face, sometimes overshadows the clear and urgent need for a more vigorous effort by blacks to achieve social and economic advancement for themselves in spite of continuing obstacles to their advancement. There are many areas in which government can only be a partner -- and for blacks a reluctant partner -- in development.

To emphasize the likely benefits of a Reagan presidency is not to ignore or underestimate the actual and potential problems it poses for blacks and other disadvantaged minorities. Many commentators have hastened to interpret the outcome of the election as representing a fundamental ideological shift by the electorate, one conferring a mandate for sweeping retrenchment and retreat from much of the social progress of recent years. However, the available data on the attitudes and perceptions of the electorate provide no conclusive evidence for such an interpretation. On the contrary, those data suggest that the electorate sought mainly a change in leadership and improvement in the country's economy, military strength, and international standing. An assumption by the administration that it is mandated to implement sweeping conservative reforms could indeed be devasting for blacks, other minorities, and all the poor and disadvantaged in the society.

There is no doubt that Governor Reagan criticized a number of social programs and national policies that have been especially beneficial to blacks. He also criticized the alleged growth and increasing intensiveness of the federal government and advocated further devolution of authority and resources to state and local governments. Such policies, thoughtlessly pursued, would seriously threaten the well-being of blacks and other disadvantaged minorities.

The history of racial discrimination in this society and efforts to combat it indicate that the federal government has been vital to the survival of blacks. Furthermore, while they are not the only, or even the principal beneficiaries of the major social programs of the past two decades geared to assist the low-income and the otherwise disadvantaged, a large proportion of the black population is especially dependent on them and thus highly vulnerable to any major cutbacks. Anything but the most cautious moves toward reforming social programs, or further sharing resources and power with state and local governments, could be extremely detrimental to blacks and require them to struggle relentlessly for their survival. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty for all Americans, it is considerably more so for black Americans as they approach the new administration.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] The Black Leadership Forum is an alliance of blacks who head autonomous national organizations which share a number of civil rights, social and economic concerns. Benjamin F. Hooks, Executive Director of the NAACP, is Chairman of the Forum. M. Carl Holman, President of the National Urban Coalition, is its Secretary-Treasurer.

[2] For the text of the National Conference on a Black Agenda see Appendix.

[3] Robert Axelrod "Where the Votes Come From: An Analysis of Electoral Coalitions, 1952-1968." American Political Science Review, 66 (March 1972) pp. 11-20 and 68 (June 1974) pp. 717-720.

[4] The Black Vote: Election '76 (Washington, D.C.: The Joint Center for Political Studies, 1976) pp. 11 & 12.

[5] Operation Big Vote is a nationwide, nonpartisan voter education and registration program organized by and implemented by the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. The Coalition is made up of about 80 national organizations representing a broad cross-section of the black population.

[6] In an exception, all of the major candidates, President Carter, Governor Reagan, Senator Kennedy and Congressman Anderson did address the 1980 Annual Conference of the National Urban League.

Table 1

Distribution of the Black Vote in Selected Democratic Primaries, 1980

State	Carter	Kennedy	Brown	Other	Turnout
Florida					
Black Voters	67.4	29.6	1.2	8.5	33.3
All Voters	60.7	23.2	4.9	11.2	39.9
Illinois					
Black Voters	59.4	33.9	3.9	2.8	39.7
All Voters	65.1	30.0	3.3	2.6	39.8*
New York					
Black Voters	52.0	48.0	--	--	28.1
All Voters	41.0	59.0	--	--	30.9
Pennsylvania					
Black Voters	44.4	51.2	2.5		42.7
All Voters	45.6	46.2	2.4		54.5

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*Both parties

Source: JCPS Study, Blacks in the 1980 Presidential Primaries

Table 2

The Black Vote in the 1980 Republican Primaries in Illinois and Pennsylvania

State	Reagan	Anderson	Bush	Others	Turnout
Illinois					
Black Vote	17.2	59.2	11.0	--	39.8
Statewide Vote	48.2	37.0	9.4	--	39.7
Pennsylvania					
Black Vote	33.7	--	45.9	20.3	54.8
Statewide Vote	43.8	--	51.5	4.7	31.5

Source: JCPS Study, Blacks in the 1980 Presidential Primaries

Table 3

Distribution of Black Voting Age Population by Region
(in thousands)

Region	Electoral Vote	Total Voting Age Population	Black Voting Age Population	Percent of Total in Region
Northeast	122	36,062	3,292	9.1
North Central	145	42,066	3,443	8.2
South	169	51,945	8,718	16.8
West	102	30,418	1,514	5.0
Totals	538	160,491	16,967	10.6

Source: 1980 Population Estimates, U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 4

I. Turnout Rate of Registered Black Voters by Region*

Region	Number of Precincts	Percent of all Sample Precincts	Total Registered	Votes Cast	Turnout
Northeast	116	21.2	64,857	43,782	67.5%
North Central	108	19.7	63,414	39,014	61.5%
South	284	51.8	362,884	217,813	60.0%
West	40	7.3	21,455	13,763	64.1%
Total	548	100.0	512,610	314,371	61.3%

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*All data weighted by region

Source: Preliminary data from 1980 JCPS election study - sample precincts

Table 5

Popular Vote in Black Sample Precincts by Region

Region	Number of Precincts	Percent of Sample Precincts	Carter Vote		Reagan Vote		Anderson Vote		Other Candidates		Total # Votes
			Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Northeast	117	19.3	41,276	92.9	2,209	4.9	857	1.9	68	.15	44,410
North Central	123	20.3	38,435	85.2	5,550	12.3	670	1.4	442	.98	45,097
South	311	51.4	242,073	92.7	13,572	5.2	3,688	1.4	1,630	.62	260,963
West	54	8.9	18,194	90.2	1,374	6.8	313	1.5	284	1.4	20,165
Totals	605	99.9	339,978	91.7	22,705	6.1	5,528	1.49	2,424	.65	370,635

Table 6

When Respondent Decided on Choice for President*

Time of Decision	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents
More than two weeks before election	559	77.1
Within the last two weeks	114	15.7
Within the last two days	50	6.9
Don't know	2	.3
	725	100.0
Missing Data	185	(20.3%)

*Source: Preliminary data from 1980 JCPS election study - exit interview sample

Table 7

Respondent Satisfaction

With Choices for President*

	N	%
Very satisfied	183	24.5
Somewhat satisfied	320	42.8
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	87	11.6
Somewhat dissatisfied	88	11.7
Very dissatisfied	67	8.9
Don't know	4	.5
	748	100.0
Missing Data	162	(16.7%)

*Weighted Data

ON BLACK LEADERSHIP

By

Charles V. Hamilton

I. INTRODUCTION: A LEADERSHIP UNDER SCRUTINY

Whatever other qualifications are required for the role, anyone aspiring to become a "black leader" in contemporary America ought to be forewarned that it is no job for the thin-skinned. In addition, it is a role that will be visited with no small amount of advice, solicited and unsolicited (and this essay will be no exception), and the likelihood is great that criticism will follow, whether the advice is taken or not. Perhaps that is the lot of "leaders" per se. "We search eagerly for leadership," wrote James MacGregor Burns, "yet seek to cage and tame it."[1] In a sense, this is not undesirable, especially if one is concerned about political leadership in a democratic society -- a society where leadership is not inherited or otherwise ascribed, but rather bestowed as a function of achievement, and is always presumed to be temporary.

Leadership in a democratic society, then, ought to be one based on exchanges between the leader and followers, one based on a maximum of accountability of the leaders to the followers. And constant criticism becomes, therefore, one mechanism for holding the leadership in check. Take away that capacity -- indeed, one might even say, desire -- to criticize the leadership, and the result might well be an unaccountable leadership or, worse, an indifferent followship. Leadership ought to be understood as a mutually respectful interaction between those who lead and those who follow. If this is one criterion, it is safe to say that black leadership in the United States has not suffered from lack of criticism. Whatever its ultimate achievements at any given time, black leadership has not been given an unscrutinized, unfettered hand. This was no less true in the days of Booker T. Washington's "reign" than it is now. One must not forget that Washington had his severe critics -- DuBois and Monroe Trotter to name only a few [2]-- and the Niagara Movement of 1905 and the subsequent National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were founded, in part, as a response to the leadership of the "Tuskegee Machine." That "machine" might well have been dominant for at least 20 years (1895-1915), but it was by no means unscrutinized and uncriticized.

The point being made here, and developed in the next two sections of this essay, is that historically and currently, black leadership (a term I will define later) in this country has had to submit to at least one crucial test of legitimacy. It has had to withstand almost constant attack from those who would question both its judgments and its motives. And in the process, it has been strengthened and made viable. Historically, for the most part, it has not been an elected leadership, in the sense of a represented constituency choosing it at the polls -- that has only occurred substantially in the last decade or so -- but its claim to speak for a designated group has not been taken for granted, inasmuch as it has not always (some might suggest, ever) been simply taken at its word. This might be an obvious and simple point to make, but it is one frequently overlooked in a discussion of the subject.

II. PERENNIAL CHALLENGE

The evidence to support the initial point is abundant. One could, indeed, refer to the famous Washington-DuBois dialogues or even to the

Garnett-Douglas discussions. There are few students of the subject who are not aware of Marcus Garvey's leadership of the United Negro Improvement Association and the challenge it posed to more integrationist black leaders. And, in turn, DuBois, A. Philip Randolph and many others saw fit to challenge the UNIA.

During World War I when DuBois and the NAACP reluctantly decided to accept a segregated training camp for black officers (when the alternative was no training of such officers), there was strong opposition from many blacks. DuBois tells the story:

> We said to our protesting brothers: "We face a condition, not a theory. There is not the slightest chance of our being admitted to white camps, therefore, it is either a case of a 'jim crow' officers training camp or no colored officers. Of the two things, no colored officers would be the greatest calamity"[3]

This is not an unusual problem in the history of black leadership. There was the constant necessity to choose between principle and pragmatism, indeed, as DuBois put it, between a condition and a theory. To choose pragmatically is always the more difficult choice. One's motive, not just judgment, is always more suspect. The charge of "sell-out" is never far behind.

Even the most casual study of black history over the decades will show similar examples of "internal" challenge to leadership. In the peak days of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, this was the case. A prominent news item in The New York Times in April, 1964 had the following headline: "Civil Rights: Leaders, Revolt Within the Movement Fails but it Opens Some Large Questions About the Future Course." The story described the aborted automobile stall-in demonstration at the opening of the New York World's Fair:

> ...Self-proclaimed militants within the movement promised that the stall-in would be only the start. They charged that the protest techniques of the established leaders had not been effective; that the movement had been stymied. They promised to get it moving, first of all by dramatically halting traffic to a fair that had been built to celebrate the prosperity of a progressive United States....
> ....Despite the warnings from liberals and Wednesday's failure on the way to the fair, it seems clear that the civil rights leadership remains under pressure to protest dramatically and to show results.[4]

DuBois and every other black leader who had gone before would have recognized the problem -- clearly.

And there have been times -- as in the turbulent summer of 1967 -- when some commentators have openly declared a new black legitimate leadership and appealed to it for solutions. One such column appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* on August 2, 1967. Newark, NJ and Detroit had gone up in riotous smoke. Riots were erupting in other cities. "Black Power" was on the minds and tongues of many blacks and whites. The columnist addressed "an open letter" to Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and to Floyd B. McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). It was an urgent plea -- written in panic-stricken times -- for those leaders to come forth with a new set of programs to get the country out of its mess:

> I am writing this as a white American of liberal inclinations who is at once deeply troubled by the violence that has grown out of the civil rights movement and shamed at the emphasis on repression that government at all levels has chosen as the primary weapon in dealing with the problems.
> ...I am appalled at the prospect of this violence and counter-violence continuing for many years to come...
> ...You have effectively alienated the former, less militant Negro leaders from their people. You have alienated the white liberals who wanted to help. You have done all this out of the feeling that only the Negro can help himself. This may or may not be true.

> At the same time, you have not offered the constructive leadership once provided *by the men you replaced in positions of leadership*.
>
> In closing, let me repeat my plea to you: Please develop, as soon as you can, a platform of specific proposals for solving this country's crisis in black-and-white relations.
>
> *You are now the leaders receiving the most attention. You are obviously the people the white establishment must learn to deal with*. 5

Thus, out of the riots, ruins, and rage of several "long hot summers" some blacks were designated the new black leaders who had "effectively alienated the former, less militant Negro leaders (presumably Whitney Young of the National Urban League, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and even Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) from their people" (presumably the hundreds of thousands who continued to send their dues to and provided support for those other, older organizations at the national level and in the local branches and affiliates).

Certainly that columnist should not be held too accountable for his obvious moment of panic and snap judgments. He was not alone in his assessment. But neither was he accurate, and that *ought* to have been known *then* as well as *now*.

Without question, many new (and mostly younger) activists came forth to champion new approaches and challenge established leaders. Without question, some of them struck a responsive chord in a constituency that followed them. And without question, more than a few people doubted the efficacy of the leadership styles of the older groups. But to conclude from this that a *replacement* of leadership occurred and that the earlier leadership had been "*alienated from their people*," were conclusions at once too simplistic and too misleading. Hindsight is not the basis for saying this now. Rather, a keener understanding of the history of the civil rights struggle would have precluded one from saying it then.

There is no historical evidence to warrant predicting such an occurrence, and the contemporary empirical studies by no means supported such a brash opinion. As one could expect, there were more than a few social science studies of attitudes, motivations, reactions, etc. following virtually each riot in various places. (Social scientists, like many in the society, can spot a hot opportunity to ply their trade when conditions permit.) One survey conducted in Los Angeles in 1965 (post-Watts) and in early 1966, explored several "myths" connected with the riot activity. The results were not simplistic. The researchers made the following observations:

> To what extent did rioting thus become thought of as a legitimate and effective mechanism of grievance redress for the future? Not widely, apparently. Answers to the open-ended question "What must Negroes do to get what they want?" reveal a preponderantly conventional approach to equal rights.... Over half of the Negro respondents see some form of conventional middle-class behavior as the road to success (e.g., more education and hard work). Another 19% see more efficient and active political participation as the answer, while only 3% contend that violence is necessary for equal rights. So the majority of Negroes in Los Angeles, even after a riot they perceived as likely to have beneficial effects, still opted for moderate grievance redress procedures and for traditional methods of personal advancement.6

Neither did the study find any evidence of a major cleavage developing within the black community over goals and tactics.

Building on this study, one of the authors reported additional findings about attitudes toward civil rights leaders and groups. The research tested the assertion that "the black community had become too militant for the moderates in the civil rights movement, and thus rejected their leadership in favor of violence and anarchy."

> The data suggest that ... in fact racial partisanship, rather than militant radicalization or particular attraction to civil rights leadership, was the dominant pattern. In the first place, there is no evidence of broad public rejection of the civil rights movement as a whole, or even of any specific groups of leaders. All civil rights groups and leaders were evaluated positively, whether "assimilationist" or "protest" in orientation.[7] (The results are shown in Table I).

To be sure, there were more than a few protestations of dissatisfaction with the leadership of the established groups. And one might reasonably hypothesize that such groups lost some support among more assertive blacks. But then and now, there are no data to substantiate a conclusion that the older leadership groups were effectively alienated from their constituencies. In fact, two political scientists were able to make the following observation in 1976:

> Of the five major organizations that sparked the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- the NAACP, Urban League, CORE, SNCC, and SCLC -- only the NAACP and the Urban League continue to thrive. And these are the two organizations that show the highest degree of "system integration." [8]

It is also true that the established civil rights leaders recognized that they could not, anymore than the official decision-makers, continue to act as if the riots and other forms of protests had not occurred. Clearly, there were growing elements in the various communities that were insisting that greater political pressure -- in various forms -- be brought to bear. Again, while the traditional leaders were not necessarily "replaced," neither were they given the luxury of going unchallenged from within. That, indeed, as already noted, was a luxury never really enjoyed, and there was no reason to assume otherwise in the heightened period of the 1960's.

The point to be reiterated here is that black leadership has always been challenged by people and forces within the black community and this has served in many ways to keep that leadership both active and accountable.

III. SOME CURRENT CRITICISMS: FROM MANY SIDES

It is tempting to try to draw some grand conclusions about this phenomenon of leadership comment and criticism, to attempt to conclude that it accelerates under certain conditions, and takes a particular form under other conditions, etc. But that temptation will be resisted. Suffice it to say that it is rather steady, and the current period obviously is no exception. One interesting fact is that it comes from liberals and conservatives, from what might be considered the left and the right. In that respect, black leadership is an equal opportunity target!

From a black conservative economist, writing in 1979 in The Wall Street Journal under the title "Political 'Saviors' Don't Deliver What Blacks Need," comes the following indictment:

> What disadvantaged black people need is not a savior and not leaders; they need the opportunity to be able to compete in the market. Neither the President (Carter) nor black political representatives show a desire to change laws that restrict competition in ways very costly to blacks. In fact, Congressional blacks in discharging their responsibilities to labor unions vote for and support legislation that makes many of the people who voted for them worse off.
>
> The minimum wage law is one such law that receives the unanimous support of black Congressmen. This support comes in spite of the abundance of economic evidence that shows the minimum wage law discriminates against the most disadvantaged worker. [9]

The basis of this criticism, of course, is a disagreement with the essentially liberal democratic position of most black elected officials.

Economist Thomas Sowell, also a black conservative and staunch opponent of busing and affirmative action plans, has some pointed comments about the NAACP's leadership, especially in those two policy areas. Sowell questions the legitimacy of the NAACP leaders to speak for "blacks as a whole." He writes:

> To the outside white world, and especially the mass media, the image of the NAACP officials and lawyers is that of "spokesmen" for blacks as a whole -- though there is no institutional mechanism to make that so, and much public opinion evidence on both busing and "affirmative action" to contradict that image. Institutionally, neither blacks as a whole nor even the particular plaintiffs have any control over, or effective input to NAACP leaders or lawyers.[10]

Surely, this is a complaint that can be lodged against any organization which only nominally relies on its full membership to select and sustain its officers -- certainly this is the case with the major civil rights groups. The leaders of those organizations are chosen by the boards of directors, and those boards are largely self-perpetuating. Whether this is the sole or main criterion for leadership legitimacy, however, is a point raised by this essay. In essence, the contention here is that it is not, and that there are, in fact, other means of holding that leadership accountable. The test of longevity is one such means. If vast numbers of people continue to pay dues and otherwise support the organization, it is reasonable to conclude that the leadership and its programs and processes are consented to in large measure. This might not be entirely satisfactory to one who requires a more direct periodic electoral mechanism for sanctioning leaders. But neither does it justify the conclusion that "there is no institutional mechanism" to assess a claim of leadership.

The violence that broke out in Miami in 1980 following the acquittal of four whites charged with killing a black insurance executive was the occasion for still other criticisms of black leadership. This time the critical assessments came as frequently from liberal corners. The following is an example:

> Miami was a dramatic, but timely, demonstration that they (younger, low-income blacks) have little, if any, confidence in black leadership, local or national. Black leadership has no message for the black dispossessed, no offer of jobs, education or new opportunities it can offer to lure the new generation of surly, angry blacks away from potential violence. 11

Still other analyses have suggested that the national black leadership has not paid sufficient attention to the needs of a persistent black economic underclass.[12]

As before, the criticisms at times come, as it were, "from within." It is not unknown for some members, who, themselves, would surely qualify for a position as a major black leader, to be found lodging rather sharp charges against others. That is, the complaints are not only forthcoming from followers, or even those in "secondary" roles. For example, in December, 1980, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm wrote an article wherein she bluntly stated, "Today's black leaders, mostly beholden to and manipulated by the white media and economic establishment, have lost the way to the promised land while the leeches of poverty, unemployment and hopelessness suck the strength from the body of Black America."[13] She continued:

> Having turned the civil rights movement into a fund-raising and media-attention competition, they seek legitimacy on Wall Street instead of in the tenements and storefront churches of the ghetto.
>
> ...To the detriment of the millions of blacks struggling with poverty and unemployment, and to the benefit of lingering racism, the grins and generalities of today's black leaders leave us with the status quo or worse. 14

IV. SOME LEADERSHIP RESPONSES

As could be expected, the various charges and attacks have not gone unanswered. Where the criticisms question leadership judgment and basic issue orientation, the responses normally are not defensive in nature, but merely restate a basic commitment to achieving effective social programs for masses of poor blacks. Without question, there is a clear ideological preference on the part of most (certainly not all) black leaders for what can be characterized as a "liberal" approach to public policy. Even where this liberalism is not associated with the Democratic Party or with a political party more liberal (or socialist) in orientation, it usually comes down on the side of a more forceful and activist role by the government, especially the Federal Government. In this sense, much of the national black leadership, then, admittedly is at variance with the ideological stances of its conservative critics (such as Professor Walter Williams and Dr. Thomas Sowell). But the critical point in this regard is that many black leaders will submerge "philosophy" and focus on programs and results.

In many ways, Vernon Jordan's comments at the National Urban League's November, 1980 Equal Opportunity Day Dinner were reminiscent of DuBois' earlier admonition ("We face a condition, not a theory."). Referring to the victory of Ronald Reagan and the conservative Republicans in the 1980 elections, Jordan said: "If the Reagan Administration protects black social and civil rights gains, and if it fulfills its promises to wipe out unemployment, it can add blacks to its emerging new coalition....Black people are not wed to any given political philosophy. Our needs are not bounded by liberal dogma. We are pragmatic. We want results, and if conservative means will move us closer to equality we will gladly use those conservative means." [15]

This is not language that would necessarily appeal to those who have long since concluded that conservative ideologies yield little for blacks. But it is language more than a few black leaders (DuBois and countless others) have found to be both necessary and valid. It might muddy the ideological debates; but it is intended, one would assume, as a statement of how to function in the existing political environment -- not a statement about what that environment ideally ought to be. (This, at least, is an unverified interpretation of the language.)

To reiterate, such matters have constantly characterized the context in which many black leaders have had to operate. Critics who take more ideologically "purist" positions (from the left or the right) find such "pragmatic" approaches suspect. And this leaves the pragmatists vulnerable to charges of sell-out and even ineptness. More on this later.

Dorothy Height, President of the National Council of Negro Women, responded to some of the current criticism of black leadership when she made the following remarks at the National Urban League Conference in August, 1980:

> I find it profoundly disturbing when our leaders come under unfounded criticism by ill informed people and by media representatives who really should know better. Some of the stories that appeared at the time of the NAACP convention actually seemed to suggest that black leaders are responsible for the high poverty and unemployment that afflict our community. Just where were those critics these past years when black leaders have been fighting strongly for measures that will end poverty and unemployment? Where were they when the Urban League brought out its State of Black America Reports warning of the conditions that have led to Miami riots? Where were they these past weeks when black leaders have been working to assure passage of a comprehensive youth bill that will provide jobs for our young people?
>
> ...So if equality is illusive, it is not the fault of our heroes and heroines who stumped up the slippery mountain slope, but that of a society that persistently pushes equality away.
>
> ...So without a society of willingness to change to provide some victories, to demonstrate that it is listening to our leaders, black leaders will meet disappointment on the part of their followers and criticism for alleged ineffectiveness by an elite media. But that is hardly an indictment of their leadership, rather it is an indictment of the continuing racism in a society which they are trying to change.[16]

Another kind of response seeks to explain the phenomenon of leadership diversity and a broadening of the base of black leadership. "We are far removed from the days of the 60s or the 70s, or from any other period in our history," a recent National Urban League statement read. "Where once leadership could be ticked off with the preachers, the teachers, the doctors, the head of the NAACP and the Urban League, the newspaper publisher and some businessmen who were not dependent on the white community for survival or success, that day is past."

Appropriately enough, David Broder opens his recent book about power and leadership in the country with the following observation: "America is changing hands. In the 1980's the custody of the nation's leadership will be transferred from World War II veterans, who have held sway for a generation, to a new set of men and women."[17] This development is no less true for black Americans.

Broder interviewed Vernon Jordan who suggested that there were at least "five new leadership classes in the black community." These could be described as follows: (1) "the black elected officials." This group has grown from virtually several dozen in the early 1960's to more than 4,000 in the late 1970's, as documented each year by the Joint Center for Political Studies. (2) "those blacks who are managing multi-million dollar public and private entities, basically white institutions." Here, he referred to colleges, state and federal agencies, and private agencies such as the important Ford Foundation. (3) "those black people who are in corporate America." (4) "...the new community people who have come out the Model Cities program, the anti-poverty programs, all those Great Society programs that required that poor people be brought into the decision-making." (5) "...the new black entrepreneurs who are profiting from the minority-purchasing programs."[18]

Each of these classes has legitimate claims for assuming the leadership mantle, albeit in different ways and with different constituencies. Each reflects the fact, so often reiterated in popular forums, that "the black community" is not a monolithic community, but indeed has developed to the point where many interests can and are being articulated and represented by many different leaders. This diversity has been seen at times as a sign of confusion, internal bickering, and ultimately as dysfunctional for black progress. Such an analysis is likely inaccurate or at least overstated, but I will return to this point later.

V. LEADING BLACKS AND BLACK LEADERS

I have used the term "black leadership" thus far as if it were a reasonably clear and discrete category. Unfortunately, it is not, and some comments should be made on this point now.

When one uses the term "black leader," the reference is to two things. "Black" refers to racial identity; "leader" refers to a role. When used together, the words take on an additional meaning: one who is racially black in a leadership role *and* who speaks and acts on matters of specific (but not, necessarily, exclusive) concern to black people as a direct purpose of occupying that role. Thus, "black leader" refers to racial and role characteristics, but also to issue orientation. Therefore, if one were racially black and, say, a mayor of an all-white town who never spoke or acted on issues of specific concern to blacks as such, it would not be proper to designate such a mayor as a "black leader." That person would be a leader (mayor) who was black. In this example, the fact that the town was all-white was not the important factor *alone*, but rather that in the leadership role, the person did not speak or act on specific racial issues. This does not imply a lack of interest in certain issues, but rather that such a person should not be defined as a "leader" of blacks simply because he or she is black and occupies a particular leadership role.

All too often, we find that prominent black people (whom I will call "leading blacks")[19] are confused with "black leaders." In fact, some of Vernon Jordan's categories (perhaps 2,3, and 5) are really prominent (or leading) blacks who might not really be "black leaders." A "black leader" fills a conscious civic or political role — as I am discussing it here. It ought to require a discernible, reasonably identifiable black constituency, not one necessarily fixed with an organizational structure, but at least a followship that manifests itself in some recurrent ways -- dues paying, attending meetings, moral support, etc.

One objection to this definition might be that it is too narrow, with its focus on "conscious civic or political role." What about some black ministers who are religious leaders, but who do not act politically or civically? These people are, indeed, blacks in leadership roles, but they would not be considered "black leaders" by the definition used here. To be sure, they have constituencies, and they are "leaders," but they should no more be accorded political leadership designations than some white ministers who simply lead a parish or congregation. In the language of daily communication (especially the mass media), such people would hardly automatically be considered "white leaders." Therefore, if the definition is not narrowed, especially in discussing blacks, there will be a tendency to lump all leading (prominent, visible) blacks under the label of "black leaders."

At one time in black history, this surely was more the case than now. We know that early leadership roles in black communities were broad-based. For example, the black minister served as the religious, political, civic, and educational leader, along with the multiple roles played by the black undertaker, the black doctor, and a few others. But, as Jordan has noted, that situation has changed. We are witnessing now the development of new classes of leadership. One could accurately say that "role specialization" or "role differentiation" has set in, and black communities, in this regard, are becoming as "politically modernized" (developed) as other communities.

The implications of this are clear. The tendency to ascribe the "black leader" role to prominent black athletes, entertainers, educators, etc. simply because they are prominent and perhaps occasionally address themselves to issues of concern to blacks should be resisted. This is not to deny them the right or opportunity to speak out, but merely to suggest that when they do so, they should be understood as representing their own views in their individual capacities as concerned citizens. They should not be burdened with the mantle of being "black leaders." Again, the point to be made can be seen in comparison with whites. A Jewish professor who studies, writes and speaks about United States policies towards Israel or who advocates support for dissidents in the Soviet Union is probably not automatically viewed as a "Jewish leader;" a scholar or an authority, perhaps, but not necessarily a "leader." The same is true of an Italian - American opera singer holding a benefit performance for the earthquake victims in Italy. These people are not automatically seen as "leaders" of their particular ethnic groups. They are, properly, prominent people concerned about certain issues.

With "leading blacks," however, the tendency (especially on the part of the media) is to turn them into "black leaders." And the result is only confusion and mis-analysis. Such people should express their opinions and concerns. But by my definition, they are not properly "black leaders." They do not have (indeed, many do not seek) a constituency based on the racial issues which legitimate their views and actions in some recurrent ways. This does not make what they say less relevant, but they should be seen as what they are: individuals talking about issues. Their particular constituency -- that is, the base for their prominence -- is located in some other place in the society: business, sports, academia, arts, entertainment, media, etc.

VI. BLACK LEADERSHIP AND POLICY FOCUS

This brings us to the matter of the nature of issues addressed by black leaders. Invariably, the society will attempt to confine the range of issues to which such leaders will be accorded credibility. Thus, when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. decided to speak out on the Vietnam War, more than a few critics suggested that he was stepping beyond his range of concern, which they defined as strictly "civil rights." King felt that his role as a black leader required him to address the issue of the morality of that war. Likewise, today, when some black leaders discuss economic issues such as full employment and inflation, they are admonished to stay within the confines of a narrowly understood definition of "civil rights" and racial discrimination. This severely restricts the role, range, and ultimate effectiveness of such people.

Ultimately, black leaders will find the increasing need to address these other (one is tempted to say "broader") issues, precisely because the concerns of black Americans are intricately tied to such matters. It will be difficult for the larger society to understand (and likely more difficult for it to accept) this expanded role of leaders who are black. The leaders will be circumscribed not because of any narrowness of vision or focus on their part, but precisely because of the constraints placed on their racial identity by the larger society. Thus, "black leaders" are admonished by many to "stick to civil rights." That is an admonition that must be resisted.

Other ethnic leaders have not had the "policy expansion" problem because their constituents' economic and other needs have not remained so identified with their ethnic identity. This is not the case with black Americans. If black leaders, therefore, wish to be relevant to the needs of their black constituents, of necessity, they will be required to address a range of issues affecting the society as a whole. Their legitimacy with their constituents demands it, and the larger society ought to be prepared for such extension of involvement.

VII. LEADERSHIP OF RELATIVELY WEAK GROUPS: A PERSISTENT PROBLEM

Earlier, it was noted that black leadership has been subject to continuous scrutiny and criticism, both from within and from external sources. This is not unexpected. Those persons who are leaders of relatively weak groups in the society would more than likely experience more criticism than leaders of relatively powerful groups. This is not peculiar to blacks, but it is a phenomenon related to the nature of the group's (any group's) place in the society.

The more influential, powerful, and resourceful the group, the more its leadership is stable and accorded higher recognition, internally and externally. In addition, the more powerful the group, the more likely its leadership is able to deliver benefits to the constituents. This might seem tautological, but it is relevant to our discussion of black leadership.

The weaker the group, the more it needs many things, and the more demands it will make on its leaders to produce. But the capacity to produce is constrained precisely by the group's relative weakness -- almost a Catch-22 situation. This means that the followers tend to keep their leaders on a "short string." That is, they tend to distrust them more than other groups (usually stronger) distrust their leaders. The reason is clear. The weaker groups have less to bargain with and frequently they must settle for far less than would otherwise be desirable. And when the leaders do compromise, they are accused of selling out or betraying the group. In this sense, then, black leaders are much more vulnerable to internal criticism and ironically, to charges of ineptness. Their capacity to maneuver is restricted both by the lack of resources (funds, votes, numbers) at their command and by the continuous (and understandable) scrutiny from those waiting, as it were, in the wings to take their place. Viewed in this manner, it is no wonder that political leadership of less developed countries is less stable, and more vulnerable than that of more developed societies. In the latter, it is easier to define roles and marshal resources to tend to the needs of the followers. The leaders in such situations are normally given more time to prove themselves; they are usually accorded the greater benefit of the doubt regarding both their abilities and their motives. In short, they have a luxury not enjoyed by their counterparts in weaker systems.

There is hardly a black leader today in the United States who would not understand this analogy. This is essentially what Dorothy Height was alluding to in her comments mentioned above. This situation will likely not change (it goes with the territory) unless and until the relative status of the group changes. My point here, then, is that the constant criticisms one hears of black leaders can be understood in large part as resulting from the basic frustrations of a group, and impatience with its status. It tends to strike out at its leaders first (and sometimes foremost) largely because that leadership in some ways is the most vulnerable target for attack. I suspect, in essence, it is a form of displacement of goal frustration. This is not to exonerate the leadership -- in some instances, it could and ought to be removed -- but it does seek to put the persistent criticisms in larger perspective.

VIII. ON LEADERSHIP DIVERSITY AND ITS OPPORTUNITIES

I have saved the final portion of this analysis for a discussion of the issue of diversity, and some of the concluding comments, as promised, will join that parade of critics getting in their licks at the existing black leadership.

If, in fact, as is often stated, it is a misnomer to talk about a monolithic "black community," it is not surprising that there would be no uniform, coordinated, highly cohesive "black leadership." If, in fact, there are many levels of need among blacks, it would follow that there would be several different types of black leaders emerging to champion those needs. These types, predictably, will differ on styles as well as goals, and there should be a point beyond which considerable expenditures of energy and intellect should not be spent trying to fashion a superficial unity when the results would likely not occur.

Some black leaders have always been subject to the charge of being "out of touch" with their lower-class black constituents. Basically, such charges stem from ideological differences -- from the Left and the Right. Such leaders have been accused of being more interested in "status" goals than in "welfare" goals, and more concerned about achieving benefits for a black middle-class than a black underclass. If one returns to just the turn of the 20th Century, it would be difficult to document this allegation with any degree of definitiveness. Without question, one could discern, for instance, a difference of emphasis between leadership groups. But these differences reflected more variance of notions about how to affect change for the masses rather than anything else. It would be difficult to document a belief that any major black leadership group purposefully sought to retard the advance of the race as a whole.

Goals have differed, to be sure. Some groups and leaders have sought advance through a strong adherence to capitalist principles; others through socialist doctrines; still others through emigration programs. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that one approach or the other was more concerned about the black masses. This could hardly be said, for instance, about a true believer in capitalism, Booker T. Washington, or about the National Urban League of the 1930's (considered then as one of the "milder," more "conservative" groups). It is also important to note in passing that Marcus Garvey was more than a mild supporter of capitalism in his own way.

If current black leadership (and here I am referring to the more visible -- and in many ways more organizationally sound -- leadership) is to be faulted, I would suspect it could be in the area of erring on the side of superficial unity. There has been a tendency in recent years to play down, to minimize the obvious differences that exist among the leadership groups. Admittedly, this has been done in the name of presenting a united front, of not airing "family" differences in public. This has been attempted not withstanding the repeated descriptions of a heterogeneous black population.

Therefore, periodically large "black-agenda" type meetings are held (as in Richmond, Virginia in February, 1980) to present a cohesive set of black proposals. The results are usually slightly less than disastrous. Public statements of unity ("without uniformity") are made at the time, and then a skeptical media proceeds to find countless others to criticize and show that there was no unity, in fact. This is followed by a spate of articles and commentaries about the "lack of effective black leadership."

There should be more overt recognition on the part of the black leadership of fundamental differences between them. There should be much more open discussion of those differences, pin-pointing precisely the issues of disagreement. This is done more often privately than publicly, and it should be surfaced. This will not likely hurt the black struggle, on the contrary, it will likely help it and give it a leadership credibility it now seeks to sustain. The principal partners in the process of suppressing public exposure of differences are the larger, more organized groups and leaders -- the National Urban League, the NAACP, the Black Leadership Forum, Operation Push, the Congressional Black Caucus. On a national scale, these are the major black leadership groups. They are the targets of attack from several newer and sometimes smaller and frequently locally-based groups. The targets seldom answer back, except in the terms of the Dorothy Height response described above. They go, at times, to considerable lengths before the press and public to define away any basic differences. This strained striving for comity should be ended. This does not mean that they must constantly bicker; in fact, on careful examination, they are far more consensual than not. But it does mean that there ought to be far more open challenging of each other and of other critics on the left and the right than now exists.

This, hopefully, would clear the air and give much more honest signals and messages and meanings to the black followers and to the larger public. One suspects that there is a substantial amount of free interchange between the groups in private sessions. The black leaders do know each other rather well; they know where and why they disagree. This ought to be shared with the public.

If this is done, it will probably be possible to avoid debacles such as the so-called black - Jewish debate over Andrew Young's U.N. resignation in 1979. There would be no pretense at holding a consensual meeting at Richmond, Virginia to write yet another black agenda.[20] Why was it necessary to bring to such a meeting a "leading black" (Dick Gregory) who gave a well-attended luncheon wrap-up speech that was not relevant to the 1980-agenda focus of the meeting? The speech, at the time, might have been good for the soul, but hardly for the goal! In this sense, black political leadership at times contributes to the atmosphere of "political theater" which too often characterizes much of black politics.

Ultimately, the black leadership groups and individuals I am referring to are, as stated, not that far apart in their views on particular policies. (It will, for instance, likely be difficult to find any that basically disagree with the recommendations in other parts of this year's National Urban League's State of Black America.)

These groups, basically, are what one might call "challenging-centrist." Like most of their black constituents, they are not too far to the left or right in American politics. To be sure, they are liberal, but they are also political pragmatists. They have every intention of challenging racism in the country, of pushing for more equitable economic policies, and of trying to forge viable coalitions with other groups that share those goals. Some are more confortable with their corporate connections than others would like them to be or want to be themselves. They have arrived at this place and time with a record of action and achievement about which they need not apologize. They remain vulnerable to attack from within and without for some of the reasons stated in this essay, but they need not feel especially apologetic about their failures. Their failure to deliver certain benefits to their constituents has been, as Dorothy Height indicated, a function largely of their circumstantial inabilities -- not their leadership ineptness. They and their constituents know (or ought to know at any rate) that what DuBois said over 60 years ago still maintains: "We face a condition, not a theory." And they know (or ought to know) that those who deal with conditions always have a tougher time of it than those of us who have the luxury of dealing with theories.

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Table I

Evaluation of Black Leaders and Organizations

	Evaluations			
	Favorable (1)	Unfavorable (2)	Net affect (1-2)	No opinion
Assimilationists				
NAACP	91%	2%	+89%	7%
Urban League	83	4	+79	13
Ralph Bunche	70	5	+65	26
United Civil Rights Council	60	6	+54	34
Thurgood Marshall	50	3	+47	47
Reverend H.H. Brookins	42	9	+33	49
Mean	66%	5%	+61%	
Protest				
Martin Luther King	92%	4%	+88%	4%
SCLC	83	2	+81	15
CORE	77	4	+73	18
SNCC	60	8	+52	32
Mean	78%	4%	+74%	
Nationalism				
John Shabazz	22%	23%	-1%	55%
Elijah Muhammed	22	46	-24	32
Black Muslims	29	54	-25	17
Mean	24%	41%	-17%	

Source: David O. Sears, "Black Attitudes Toward the Political System in the Aftermath of the Watts Insurrection," in: Bullock, Charles S., III and Harrell R. Rodgers (eds.), Black Political Attitudes, Implications for Political Support (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972) p. 121.

FOOTNOTES

[1] James MacGregory Burns, Leadership (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1978) p. 9.

[2] See: Monroe Trotter's editorials in The Guardian (Boston, Mass.) 1902-1903, also W.E.B. DuBois, Autobiography (New York: International Publishers, 1908) and Souls of Black Folk (1903).

[3] DuBois, Autobiography, Ibid., p. 266.

[4] The New York Times, April 26, 1964, p. 6E.

[5] Stuart H. Loory, "Need: Negroes' Own Program." Los Angeles, Times, August 2, 1967, p. 4, Part II (Underlines added.)

[6] Sears, David O., and T.M. Tomlinson, "Riot Ideology in Los Angeles: A Study of Negro Attitudes," Social Science Quarterly 49 (December, 1968 pp. 485-503.

[7] Sears, David O., "Black Attitudes Toward the Political System in the Aftermath of the Watts Insurrection," Midwest Journal of Political Science 134 (November, 1969) pp. 515-44.

[8] Lucius I. Barker and Jesse I. McCorry, Jr., Black Americans and the Political System (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1976) p. 236.

[9] Williams, Walter E., "Political 'Saviors' Don't Deliver What Blacks Need," The Wall Street Journal, May 31, 1979.

[10] Thomas Sowell, Knowledge and Decisions (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1980) p. 265.

[11] Ward, Francis, "Days are Numbered, The Black Leadership Elite," First World, Vol. 2 No. 4, 1980. p. 5.

[12] Gershman, Carl, "Race or Class," The New York Times Magazine, also Hugh B. Price, "Whither The Civil Rights Movement?" New York Times, April 9, 1979.

[13] Chisholm, Shirley, "Black Leadership Must be Earned," New York Amsterdam News.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,Speech, New York Hilton Hotel, New York, November 20, 1980.

[16] Dorothy Height, Speech, National Urban League Conference, New York, August, 1980.

[17] David S. Broder, Changing of the Guard (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980) p. 11.

[18] Cited in Ibid., pp. 305-306.

[19] I attribute this term to the late Dr. Lewis W. Jones of Tuskegee Institute.

[20] What was "wrong" with the agenda set forth just one month before the Richmond meeting by the National Urban League in its State of Black America 1980?

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As several of the foregoing papers have noted, much of what happens in Black America in 1981 will be determined by the programs and policies enunciated and implemented over the next several months by the Reagan Administration. This is obviously also true for the rest of the country as well, but blacks have a special stake in what the Reagan Administration does, particularly in terms of domestic policies and programs, since a disproportinate number of them (blacks) are affected by governmental actions.

Quite clearly, blacks had strong reservations about a Reagan Administration as witness their 90% vote for President Carter, with whom they had had problems with in the past but with whom they chose to align themselves when it came time to vote. Many of those reservations remain intact so that blacks can be expected to look critically at the actions of the new Administration, even during the early "honeymoon period" accorded a new President, for some clue or clues as to future directions.

They are rightfully concerned. Powerful Senate voices have already been raised calling for the repeal of the Voting Rights Act, for eliminating public service jobs, for cutting food stamps, Medicaid, urban development programs and others. There are calls to lower the minimum wage and it is certain that fresh legislative efforts will be taken to seriously limit school desegregation.

To further worsen the picture no less an authority than Donald T. Regan, Treasury Secretary-designate, predicted at his confirmation hearing on January 6, 1981, that the economy would continue to decline in 1981 adding his voice to the many others predicting that the recession would continue throughout the rest of the year. What this means for blacks was described earlier in this publication by Dr. Robert B. Hill in his paper on "The Economic Status of Black America".

"Over the years, repeated cycles of recessions have consistently eroded many of the economic advances of blacks. During the past 26 years this nation has experienced a succession of at least six recessions (1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-71, 1974-75 and 1980). Before blacks had a chance to recover from one recession, they were subjected to another. Thus, the black community is still reeling from the cumulative effects of a quarter century of recessions."

With a faltering economy to contend with, the new administration has proposed to the American people a mixture of reducing government expenses, raising the military budget and cutting taxes, all at the same time. It is within this proposal that much of the potential danager for blacks and the poor lie, for obviously if budget cuts are to be made, a prime target will be social service programs that serve the poor.

If these efforts are successful it will be because they have been materially abetted by the spread of the "big lie" by their opponents, that they do not work. Extensive documentation that exposes the big lie is contained in Gerald Gill's paper, "The Rightward Drift in America", appearing in this publication. Mr. Gill concludes:

"In spite of charges of "fraud" and "welfare dependency", social welfare programs--food stamp programs and AFDC--provide much-needed assistance to genuinely need recipients. Early childhood intervention programs, manpower training programs and affirmative action programs in education and employment have brought and will continue to bring real and lasting benefits to countless individuals".

How far efforts to cut back on these programs can advance, will have much to do with the signals being sent from the White House. It is here that we would remind Mr. Reagan of the promise he made at the National Urban League's Annual Conference in the summer of 1980 "not to fight these (economic) problems on the backs of the poor". We would also remind him of other words that he said.

"There are three answers to this bleak future now confronting the upcoming generation of black Americans, and the bitter reality facing the older generations. Those answers are: jobs, jobs, jobs.

"Not make-work employment that lasts for one year, and then squeezes recipients back onto welfare rolls. Real jobs that teach marketable skills. Jobs with a future. We should help foster the economic conditions which will allow every able-bodied American who wants a real job to be able to find one."

There is much in what Mr. Reagan had to say to give rise to the hope that he will understand the special problems of minorities and the poor. And there is some comfort to be derived from the precedent of all Presidents moving toward the political center in order to govern a nation that is unique in its diversity.

We do not, however, expect any such movement to the center from the disproportionate number of ultra-conservatives in Congress who are already sharpening their axes to cut and slash away at the basic interests of the poor. Their actions must be opposed every step of the way and this will call for a revitalization of the coalitions that made possible so many gains throughout the 60's and into the 70's.

At the same time blacks themselves must not fall into the trap of confining themselves to a purely defensive posture over the next four years, but must move resolutely forward to new territory and new victories based on the pragmatic realization that new strategies and approaches must be developed to meet new realities.

And in these times of rising racial tensions it is extremely important that the American people be brought to a realization that racial discord is destructive and a form of national suicide. We of the National Urban League know that much of the discord is based on the socio-economic gap that still separates the races.

Such a state of affairs can not long continue without tearing us apart. Therefore, the recommendations that the National Urban League makes in "The State of Black America-1981" take on special importance. Before listing them, however, we present a report on actions taken last year in response to recommendations made in the "State of Black America-1980". The report was prepared by the NUL's Washington Operations Office.

REPORT ON 1980 RECOMMENDATIONS

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Recommendation:	The D.C. Voting Rights Amendments must be ratified to ensure rightful and overdue representation for the District's disenfranchised residents.
Action:	Nine states have ratified the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment to date. Two of those, Wyoming and Hawaii, did so during 1980.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Recommendation:	More funding is desperately needed for research about handicapped and/or older children and how to effectively recruit adoptive homes in the minority community to meet their needs.
Action:	Legislation signed into law by President Carter on June 17 made families who adopted certain welfare children eligible for federal financial support. Adoptive parents receiving the new assistance will be those who adopted children who had been eligible before adoption, for Supplemental Security Income (SSI), AFDC or foster care, provided that the children had special beeds, such as

being handicapped, that made unsubsidized adoption unlikely.

Recommendation: The Administration and Congress should insure that the federal budget contains sufficient funds for the efficient operation of welfare programs. The lack of funds should never provide the basis for any considerations to evaluate program effectiveness, such as USDA's recent proposed alternatives for reducing food stamp values.

Action: There has been no reduction in appropriations for food stamps but eligibility criteria for recipients has been tightened by Congress. While no federal reduction in aid to AFDC recipients has occured, Congress has applied additional pressure to states to develop stringent administrative procedures to cut down on fraud and abuse.

EDUCATION

Recommendation: There must be a national moratorium on testing programs. The federal government should target research funds to help state and local school systems develop testing programs which will equitably delineate and help to evaluate the roles, responsibilities and the performances of administrators and teachers as well as students.

Action: The U.S. District Court for Northern Illinois this past summer refused to bar the use of standarized IQ tests in the Chicago school system, even though the tests are part of a classification process that places disproportionate numbers of black children in classes for the handicapped. But in 1979, a federal district court found California's use of the same test violative of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Equal Protection clause. Suits have also been filed in other states challenging the use of standardized competency tests as a high school graduation requirement.

Recommendation: The President must confirm his on-going commitment to his Black College Initiative. A long term and consistent program of federal support for black colleges must be developed. The federal government should continue to provide support for such institutions in recognition of both the unique historical role of these institutions and the economically depressed student body which attends such schools.

Action: The Carter Administration followed up on a 1979 memorandum by the President directed to all departments and agencies to increase their assistance to historically black colleges. In August 1980, the President put more teeth into the program by issuing Executive Order 12232, that among other things called for the Secretary of Education to implement a Federal initiative to identify, reduce and eliminate barriers which may have unfairly resulted in the college's reduced participation in Federally sponsored programs.

Recommendation: Congress should enact into law the Mental Health Systems Act.

Action: The Mental Health Systems Act, P.L.96-398, was signed into law by President Carter in October 1980. It authorizes increased federal spending for mental health services, and extends those services to groups that had previously not been served by the mental health care delivery system.

HOUSING

Recommendation: The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act should be reauthorized by Congress and should be expanded and strengthened to reflect its experiences which have shown that the present method of collecting data is awkward and would be substantially improved if data were compiled at central sources within regions, rather than at individual institutions.

Action: The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act was reauthorized as part of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1980. Federal financial agencies will be required to collect HMDA data annually for each standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), and compile information on aggregate lending patterns based on income levels and race, among other indicators. Data will be available at a central depository in each SMSA.

Recommendation: Local governments should pass legislation that would enable them to negotiate directly with employers to provide suitable conditions for the expansion of employment in older neighborhoods by the granting of appropriate privileges (i.e. the relaxing of zoning standards).

Action: The Urban Jobs and Enterprise Zone Act has been introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives. The legislation would reduce taxes and ease regulations in certain targeted areas to entice businesses and thus jobs into distressed areas.

Recommendation: HUD's Housing Counseling Program, which has proven to be successful, should be expanded to provide this service in all local housing markets. At present, the program only operates in 40% of the cities HUD labels as distressed.

Action: In September 1980, HUD issued an advanced notice of proposed rulemaking indicating that they were developing new regulations to govern the Housing Counseling Program. Among the other areas of concern, they requested comments on the recruitment of additional counseling agencies to target areas of greatest need, certification criteria and funding land grant restrictions on counseling agencies.

Recommendation: Attempts to decrease the federal commitment and funding of low income housing assistance program (Section 8) must be halted. This program, which provides rent subsidies to low-income families, has been attacked through regressive regulations. Additional serious retrenchments must be curtailed.

Action: The Housing and Community Development Act of 1980 authorized funding for up to 290,000 section 8 and public housing units. Although this is an increase of 30% over the previous fiscal year, the increase is not as great as in past years.

ENERGY

Recommendation: Low-income consumer and emergency assistance programs must be expanded to shelter the poor and working poor from the devastating effects of ever escalating energy prices. A fixed percentage of government revenues derived from increased energy taxes should be specifically earmarked for low-income assistance, especially for rising utility bills.

Action: Regulations are presently being drafted to implement the Windfall Profits Tax Act, which should earmark funds for low-income energy assistance.

Recommendation: Our nation's energy conservation goals must be effectively utilized as a vehicle for minority economic and job development. There must be assistance to minority business people to enter the fields of weatherization, energy audits and solar installation. This business development should go hand in hand with large scale job training programs in both the public and private sectors to train minorities in these growing fields.

Action: Recognizing the potential interplay between unemployment and energy needs, the Federal government has initiated a number of efforts to cultivate this relationship. The Energy Security Act provides a vehicle for the identification of employment potential in the field and the role of the Department of Labor in energy planning. Informal Interagency planning groups are assessing the adequacy of energy employment data, and recommending ways in which Federal departments might cooperate to develop linkages in the area. As a first step, the Department of Energy held a conference this fall, "Minority Focus on Solar Energy." Sessions focused on how minority persons become involved in and take advantage of opportunies in this fledgling field.

RECOMMENDATIONS
(State of Black America - 1981)

Employment and the Economy

1. Because unemployment in the black community is estimated at nearly 25% and because the private sector has not been able to generate a sufficient number of jobs to meet the need, the new Administration should increase, not abolish or decrease federal job training and job creation programs.

2. The new Administration should carefully evaluate all aspects of the CETA program with a view towards efficiency, effectiveness and long-term job training for program participants.

3. Meaningful job training opportunities -- as a venture between private industry and the federal government -- should be made available for the long-term unemployed. Community-based organizations, because of their sensitivity to the needs of the disadvantaged, should be used in counseling and training.

The job program initiatives should include:

- Measurable skills development.
- Appropriate follow-up to job training and placement including but not limited to counseling, retention and upgrading.

4. Private industry and specifically small and mid-size businesses where most of the nation's jobs are located, should be encouraged through such inducements as tax incentives, wages subsidies, work study, etc., to employ and train youth and individuals with limited job skills.

5. The Administration should implement a full employment policy that provides an opportunity for employment for every American, willing and able to work.

6. Because of the danger that whatever gains have been made by minority group members and women in recent years will be lost during recessionary times, the private sector should consider various options for minimizing the adverse impact of a recession, such as work sharing, instituting plant-wide seniority systems, and releasing employees at the rate proportional to their percentage in the firm's work force.

7. Since youth wage differentials already exist and are not being fully utilized, and since there is reason to question whether minority youth--whose jobless rates are much higher than others -- will benefit from an expansion of youth wage differentials, the minimum wage should not be further altered to provide additional youth differentials.

Civil Rights

8. The new Administration under the leadership of the President should take every opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to the enforcement of civil rights laws, and affirmative action policies.

9. The federal civil rights machinery, particularly the EEOC, OFCC, and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, should be provided adequate resources to support its equal opportunity enforcement programs and activities.

10. Federal, State and local law enforcement agencies, should monitor the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and various other hate groups, and periodically issue reports on those activities.

11. The new Administration and the Congress should take steps to immediately enact a strong fair housing law.

12. The Department of Health and Human Services should develop and enforce policies and compliance procedures under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to eliminate racial discrimination by health care providers, and other components of the health care system.

13. The Department of Health and Human Services should develop non-discriminatory policies and compliance procedures under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 to provide for strong welfare protection for black children.

14. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act) should be amended to address the phenomena of "last hired, first fired."

EDUCATION

15. In its development of the Enterprise Zone concept, the Administration should formulate an innovative approach to focus attention on developing a definition of and measurement for "employability skills" which are transferable in the market-place in terms of both in-school preparation and on-the-job training programs.

16. Congress should insure that the new federal funding to increase the basic skills of junior and high school students should be targeted only to those systems and only for those programs which have been demonstrated as successful.

17. Any Federal policy to find alternative ways of funding public education must take into consideration those families who live in extreme poverty locked into inner city communities. Children from such families have no real alternatives to existing public schools. Therefore, alternative funding strategies must also make the same options available to children of low income families, as are made available to others, taking into account the special financial status of the former.

18. The federal government should increase support to black researchers and linguists to encourage the examination of strategies to improve the acquisition of language art skills in urban public schools. It is particularly imperative that all minority students acquire proficiency in standard English, specifically in reading skills.

19. There must be a national moratorium on testing programs. The federal government should target research funds to help state and local school systems develop testing programs which will equitably delineate and help to evaluate the roles, responsibilities and the performance of administrators and teachers as well as students.

20. The new Administration should address the full range of problems of blacks in higher education. Specifically, a long term and consistent program of federal support for public and private colleges must be developed. The federal government must continue to provide support for such institutions in recognition of both the unique historical role of these institutions and the economically depressed student body which attends such schools.

21. The federal government should not relent in its insistence that postsecondary institutions receiving federal monies, adopt and implement effective affirmative action plans for both faculty and students. In the absence of such plans, and documented results, federal funds should be withdrawn from the institution.

Urban Policies

22. The concept of enterprise zones as proposed in the Kemp-Garcia Bill to encourage economic growth in depressed areas by rewarding businesses locating there with certain tax breaks and related regulations deserves support. However, the bill should be strengthened through the addition of the following features:

- Better targeting so that those industries that use labor, particularly low-skilled labor will be major participants.
- Tighter monitoring with federal government participation.
- An appropriate mix of incentives to assure the outcome of reducing unemployment in the inner city.
- Availability of necessary supportive services within the community.
- Assurance that dislocation and displacement are not a by-product of enterprise zoning.

23. Federal, State, and local entities along with private sector and community based organizational partnerships should be developed to assist cities in urban revitalization activities, including such initiatives as urban homesteading, business development, urban transportation, etc.

Social Services

24. All federal income maintenance programs should include aggressive outreach by sensitive, trained agency staff to assure adequate participation by the legally entitled.

25. In the interest of strengthening family ties SSI benefits standards should not be reduced when aged, blind, and disabled recipients live in the household of another. The current resource limitations for SSI should be liberalized and the asset limitations kept current with the cost of living.

26. In determining social security benefit levels, consideration must be given to the lower life expectancy of blacks and the need for parity based on age expectation. The minimum social security benefit should be above the poverty line for long-term workers who have been employed at low wages throughout their lives.

27. There should be no change in the provision allowing retirement before age 65, with the option to take a reduced benefit at age 62. Consideration should be given to a program of special long-term unemployment benefits for those who are approaching the normal retirement age, but are unable to find a job.

28. A more comprehensive, equitable and human national policy on income support and security as proposed by the National Urban League should be enacted. Until that occurs there should be legislative action to raise the level of income and benefits for families and children on AFDC.

Housing

29. The Department of Housing and Urban Development housing counseling program, which has proven to be successful, should be expanded to provide this service in all local housing markets. At present, the program only operates in 40% of the cities HUD labels as distressed.

30. The urban policy of state governments should be designed to promote the development of existing localities and to discourage the sprawl of metropolitan areas. States can do this by:

A. Refusing to finance further sewer water or highway extensions that are in conflict with Regional Development plans.

B. Prohibiting counties and municipalities from using their own tax exempt bonds to finance sewer, water and road projects in conflict with regional development plans.

C. Requiring public service commissions to increase utility rates in those fringe areas which are costly to serve. This would also ease the burden on other utility consumers who in effect subsidize services to these fringe areas.

31. Based on a recent study by the Working Group for Community Development reform showing widespread failure to coordinate housing, community development and economic development programs, an assessment should be undertaken of planning procedures, citizen participation requirements for planning, and program implementation which impacts urban neighborhoods.

32. Until such time that this nation has strengthened its fair housing law, reform of administrative procedures, including the use of existing authority for affirmative action should include the following:

A. The promulgation of regulations for the fair housing law.

B. The development of regional fair housing strategies that provide for effective coordination of actions by local governments, citizens and agents of the housing industry with HUD's enforcement activities.

C. Strong enforcement of executive order 12259, leadership and coordination of fair housing in federal programs.

Health

33. There should be an outreach and implementation of the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment program (EPSDT), the nation's largest preventive health program for poor children.

34. The Child Health Assurance Program (CHAP) which would expand Medicaid eligibility, encourage effective outreach programs for eligible families, increase the range of health services covered, encourage participation by qualified providers and strengthen the states' capacities to provide health services to needy children, should be enacted by the 97th Congress.

35. The federal government should examine the health care system with a view toward meeting the basic health needs of all Americans.

36. Neither the Administration nor the Congress should propose any actions which would have the effect of cutting the Medicaid program. Instead Medicaid should become a federal program and its benefits made uniform among the states.

37. The Administration should insure that adequate resources are available to support a major national comprehensive family planning program.

38. Congress should provide financial resources to increase efforts to combat cancer and high blood pressure. Resources should be targeted to those groups experiencing the highest incidence rates and the lowest health status.

39. Resources should be made available to community based organizations for the design and implementation of local programs in community health education, physical fitness, and disease prevention.

Minority Business

40. The special needs of small and minority businesses must be recognized and technical and monetary assistance should be provided.

41. The private sector should be encouraged to utilize the services of and provide assistance to small and minority businesses.

Political Participation

42. A system of universal registration for presidential and congressional elections that would enable a citizen to vote on election day by appearing at the polls with proper identification, should be adopted. The system would bring into the electoral process many individuals now excluded because of cumbersome registration procedures.

43. States should be encouraged to use election day registration for state and local elections as well.

44. The Voting Rights Act, which has proven to be one of the most effective pieces of legislation ever passed, should be reenacted without alteration in fullfillment of this country's continuing commitment to the elimination of discrimination in voter participation and representation.

Energy

45. Low-income consumer and emergency assistance programs must be expanded to shelter the poor and working poor from the devastating effects of escalating energy prices.

46. Our nation's energy conservation goals must be effectively utilized as a vehicle for minority economic and job development. Minority businesses must be encouraged to and assisted in business development in various areas of energy such as weatherization, energy audits and solar installation.

47. Weatherization of the homes of poor people must be a top priority as a tool for shielding the poor from rising energy prices. Programs must broaden the utilization of community based organization eligible to receive direct funds for economic and community development activities in the energy field.

48. There must be increased representation of the concerns of minorities and the poor at all levels of energy decision-making. The energy industry, utilities and all levels of government must place more blacks and minorities in policy level positions.

49. Energy education and awareness must be directed to minority communities.

Crime

50. The policy of the federal government should be a complete ban on the importation, manufacture, sale and possession of handguns except for law enforcement officials, the armed forces, pistol clubs that keep the guns on their premises and authorized guards.

51. Any federal policy designed to deal with crime in America must focus on crime in its entirety, including governmental corruption and white collar criminality.

52. Prisons have not and will never make our streets safe, reduce crime or rehabilitate offenders; therefore alternatives to incarceration should be aggressively pursued to truly address the problems. These alternatives should have a specific focus on education and skills that will increase the individual's employability potential.

53. All political jurisdictions should initiate affirmative action in the field of criminal justice. The programs should be two-fold in nature. First, a sincere effort should be made to recruit minorities at entry level positions in law enforcement, corrections and the courts. Second, methods should be developed that will assure the involvement of minorities in all the decision-making processes of the criminal justice system.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1980*

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Jan. 12: A ruling to correct a "pattern of discrimination, and which requires that 50% of all new police officers hired by New York City must be black or Hispanic, is made by a Federal district judge. Black and Hispanic police officers comprise only 11.5% of the Police Department, while they represent 30% of the city's labor force. A notice of appeal is filed in the case.

Jan. 16: Citing a general "drift" in civil rights, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reports that despite the Supreme Court decision outlawing school desegregation, nearly half of all minority-group school children remain in "racially-isolated" schools. The report attributes federal agencies lack of action to anti-busing and other legislative riders used by Congress. In other matters, the report states that housing discrimination is widespread, and that job rates for minorities and women still lag significantly behind those of white men.

Jan. 20: The Texas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights issues a report that blacks, Mexican-Americans and women are "underemployed, underrepresented, underutilized and underestimated" at all governmental levels. The report which covered a ten-year period, said the groups had not made acceptable progress during that time and are generally stuck in low-paying, low-responsibility jobs.

Jan. 27: A Sacramento County quota hiring system designed to increase jobs for minorities is upheld by the California Supreme Court by a vote of 4 to 3. Citing the majority opinion, Justice Mathew O. Tobriner said, "Such remedial affirmative action measures promote rather than thwart the attainment of the ultimate constitutional and legislative objective: A society in which equal employment opportunity is a reality rather than an elusive dream."

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* The chronology is based on news reports. In some instances the event might have occurred a day before the news item appeared.

Affirmative Action Cont.

Feb. 6: The American Bar Association votes to defer action on a measure requiring law schools to adopt affirmative action plans for the admission of minority students. The measure would amend the Standards for the Approval of Law Schools and would require schools seeking to obtain or maintain accreditation to demonstrate "concrete action" in expanding opportunities for racial minorities and women in the study of law and entry into the law profession.

Feb. 21: The Supreme Court rules that the California brewing industry's seniority system is not in violation of the Civil Rights Act. The system requires that only workers with 45 working weeks a year can be granted seniority, however, only those with seniority status are chosen for jobs allowing them to accure the 45 weeks. Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote the dissenting opinion which in part said that a law "designed to remedy the national disgrace of discrimination in employment should be interpreted generously to comport with its primary purpose." The seniority system was cited as preventing blacks from achieving full job security.

Feb. 22: The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit rejects the "reverse discrimination" claims of three white workers of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company near Beaumont, Texas. The workers contended that a remedial seniority system for black employees displaced white employees from their jobs. The appeals court rules that while black employees can not usurp the jobs of white employees, it recognized that there will be instances in which whites will have to "suffer certain disadvantages" (such as the restructuring of a seniority system), to adhere to the equal employment law.

March 7: An order that all Federal courts adopt affirmative action plans for minorities and women to ensure equal employment opportunities, is issued by the United States Judicial Conference. The order covers all court personnel, including court officers and judges' staff, and results from a petition by a coalition of civil rights groups.

March 17: A study released by the Radio Television News Directors Association indicates that women are making greater employment advances than minorities in the broadcasting industry. Only 71% of all television stations employed minorities, while 94% of those stations employed women, according to the survey conducted in 1979. In radio, only one fifth of the country's stations employed minorities, a figure unchanged in nine years.

March 30: University of Pennsylvania's Afro-American Studies Program sponsors a conference on "New Black Middle Class Prospects." The participants voice challenges to the public perception that the black middle-class is "making it." The concensus is that they (the black middle-class) have a "tenuous grasp" on

Affirmative Action Cont.

social mobility because of legal attacks on affirmative-action and other such programs for black advancement. Complex economic problems are also cited as hindering black social mobility.

April 2: The Chicago Fire Department is permanently prohibited from discriminating against any candidate for promotion on the basis of race or national origin, by filing a settlement order in Federal District Court. The Department agrees to promote more blacks and Hispanic Americans on an equal basis with whites, resulting from a suit charging it with violating provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Federal Revenue Sharing Act of 1972.

April 30: Amoco Oil Co., (a division of Standard Oil of Indiana) agrees to pay a record civil penalty of $200,000 to settle charges of discrimination against blacks, Hispanics and women, in the issuance of credit cards. The company's use of zip codes to determine which applicants obtained credit fostered the discrimination charges, and Amoco agrees to reconsider upon request, applicants rejected over the last three years. The action could result in 30,000 to [illegible]0,000 new card holders. The civil penalty is the largest ever levied under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

May 23: A suit filed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) alleging race and sex discrimination against a Sears, Roebuck and Co. store in Montgomery, AL is dismissed. Federal Judge Robert E. Varner contends that the EEOC has failed to verify its charges with specific documented cases. Varner says adherence to verification requirements will prevent the EEOC from issuing across-the-board, catch-all charges against nation-wide employers on limited issues of discrimination. The suit is one of five initiated by the EEOC.

May 23: The Labor Department issues an administrative complaint charging the National City Bank of Cleveland with discrimination against blacks, minorities and women. The Department alleges bias by the bank in areas such as, salary levels, promotions, recruitment, placement and training, against 1,400 women and 200 minorities. The bank, a unit of National City Corp., faces the loss of government business and the cancellation of existing federal contracts.

June 19: A second case in five initiated by the EEOC alleging race and sex discrimination against Sears, Roebuck & Company is dismissed in New York. The suit which cited discrimination against blacks and Hispanic applicants at the company's retail stores in Brooklyn and White Plains is cited as invalid because it was signed by a commissioner whose appointment had expired according to Federal District Court Judge Kevin Thomas Duffy. Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chair of the EEOC says the decision is based on a narrow procedural issue and will be appealed.

July 3: A ruling authorizing Congress to impose racial quotas to remedy past discrimination against minority contractors in federal jobs programs is upheld by the Supreme Court in a 6 to 3 vote. It validates the 10% minority set-aside of federal public works contracts, challenged by white contractors in the case Fullilove vs. Klutznick.

July 9: In a consent decree reached with the Justice Department, the city of Cincinnati agrees to hire and promote more blacks and women within the Police Department. The decree permanently enjoins the city from engaging in any employment discrimination, and calls for the increase of black and women officers equal to their proportions in its labor force within the next five years. Long-range, 34% of police officer vacancies will be filled by blacks and 23% by women.

Aug. 1: The United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit overturns a lower court ruling requiring 50% of all new police officers hired by New York City to be black and Hispanic. However, the Appeals Court ruled that a written test used to hire the officers has "significant disparate racial impact" in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It rules that until a new test is implemented, one-third of the police officers hired by the city must be black or hispanic.

Sept. 10: The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission issues recommendations on how to avoid "recession-related" layoffs of minorities and women. Contending that such layoffs are eradicating employment gains made by these groups, the EEOC advises businesses to make layoffs on the basis of overall plant seniority rather than departmental seniority. Another suggestion is that employees work on reduced schedules and receive unemployment compensation for the hours not worked, an alternative known as work-sharing.

Sept. 12: The Federal Government's "Philadelphia Plan" designed to increase minority representation in skilled trade and construction jobs in the Philadelphia metropolitan area has met with little success. Minority representation is only 12.1%, below the 19 to 26% goal established by the plan. Failure to meet the goal is attributed to a history of racial exclusion by "tradition-bound" industries and lack of government enforcement.

Sept. 18: Minority employees of the New York Times win $685,000 in an out-of-court settlement of a six-year-old racial discrimination suit. Black, Hispanic and Asian employees are to receive more higher-ranking management positions in the paper's editorial and business divisions and "choicer" newsbeats. In addition, the paper agrees to provide journalism scholarships for minority students. A statement in the agreement contends that there has been no finding of discrimination by the newspaper.

Sept. 25: Labor Secretary Ray Marshall announces that new "minoirty hiring goals" will take effect at the end of October. Based upon the percentage of minorities in an area's civilian work force, the goals apply to 285 major metropolitan areas and 183 rural surrounding areas, and cover the total hours worked by federal contractors, including private projects.

Oct. 13: Minority groups and federal contractors criticize proposed hiring goals to increase minority representation and end job discrimination in construction and other industries. Minorities contend that the new rules reduce existing minority hiring goals in urban areas, while contractors claim the rules would require them to hire entry-level persons at journeymen's wages to meet the government's requirement to pay the prevailing wage on a job. The new hiring plan replaces the Government's former "Phildelphia Plan."

Oct. 24: Discrimination against blacks and women by the South's largest bank, Republic National, is found in a 272-page ruling by U.S. District Judge Patrick Higginbotham. Discrimination in salaries, promotions and hiring occured over a ten year period according to Higginbotham. Out of the bank's 570 officers, only 15 were black and none had reached the rank of vice president.

Nov. 21: Two million dollars in wages is awarded to victims of discrimination by the Los Angeles Police Department and it is required to hire more minority group members in a consent decree reached with the Justice Department, and five female officers. The LAPD agrees to establish hiring goals for women, black and Hispanic officers equal to their proportion in the labor force. Women will also be hired until they hold at least 20% of the officer's posts.

Nov. 26: The Ford Motor Co. reaches a conciliation agreement with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), to spend $23 million on improved training programs and compensatory payments to minority and female workers. Ford agrees to place minorities in more than 20% of the skilled trades, production and maintenance supervisory positions (formerly known as foremen's jobs) and more than 15% in general supervisory positions. The case is one of five nation-wide discrimination investigations that was initiated by the EEOC in the early 70's.

Dec. 19: A suit filed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has led to an agreement by Pan American World Airways to adopt an affirmative-action program to increase the hiring and promotion of minorities. The company also agrees to pay $100,000 to employees claiming discrimination in the past and will promote seven of them. The suit involved employees at the airline's New York facilities.

Affirmative Action Cont.

Dec. 19: The State Council of Higher Education reports a serious "setback" in enrollment goals for black students at Virginia's 13 traditionally white public colleges and universities. The enrollment of 8.5% fewer black freshmen in the fall of 1980, means that the state fell 22.5% below its goals of enrolling 1,686 black freshmen.

POLITICS

Jan. 19: The political process in the 1980's looks grim for blacks according to some black political figures. Lucille Rose, a member of the Democratic National Committee says part of the problem is the lack of political consciousness among blacks, and the fact that the success of voter regristration in the South has not been paralleled in the North, Horance Morancie, a Republican, cites the problems of politically educating 18 to 20 years olds, a majority who he says "see no need to vote and are oblivious to the fact that politicans and elected officials decide what the rest of us do.

Jan. 23: A survey by Data Black, a commerical black polling system, shows that blacks favor Sen. Edward M. Kennedy for President as opposed to incumbent James Carter by 16 percentage points. A total of 1,062 black democrats were surveyed during the period of Nov. 23 - Jan. 2.

Jan. 26: The Black Leadership Forum develops plans for a "National Conference for a Black Agenda for 1980's," to present a program of black interests and concerns to the presidental candidates. The four-day session is slated for Feb. 28, in Richmond, VA. Originally conceived as a political convention, the meeting's status is changed to that of a conference when many of the participants propose to support one or the other of the leading Democratic contenders and ignore the Republicans.

Jan. 31: The conviction of Rep. Charles B. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) on charges of mail fraud and the diversion of $60,000 in Congressional salaries, is upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals. Diggs who has been on bond pending the outcome of his appeal, plans a final appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Feb. 6: The Congressional Black Caucus attacks President Carter's fiscal 1981 budget proposals criticizing increases in military spending as resulting in cuts for social programs. Caucus members promise to initiate legislation to reduce the military spending increases, and they pronounce the budget "an unmitigated disaster for the poor, the unemployed and minorities."

Feb. 6: Georgia State Senator Julian Bond suffers a political setback in a bid for the largely ceremonial post of majority whip. He is defeated in a Democratic caucus by Sen. Loyce Turner of Valdosta by a vote of 27 to 21.

Politics Cont.

Feb. 17: Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) faces the first challenge to his House seat in 13 terms in Congress. Seeking the seat representing Michigan's predominately black, overwhelmingly Democratic 13th District are Detroit city councilmen Clyde Cleveland and David Eberhard. In addition, the Rev. Nicholas Hood, III, and prominent Democrat George Crockett, Jr., organized campaigns to unseat Diggs.

Feb. 24: Just four days short of its scheduled start, Mayor Richard C. Hatcher of Gary, IN. attempts to dispel criticism by some blacks of the National Conference for a Black Agenda. Hatcher says that the meeting will provide blacks with clear strategies for the next decade, and will produce a list of ten priorities for the improvement of black life in America. More than 10,000 participants are expected at the conference which will cover five major areas--economics, social services, international affairs, politics and civil rights.

Mar. 3: The "National Conference for a Black Agenda" meets with limited success. A special "presdential forum" in which the presidential candidates were to discuss issues of importance to black Americans, is cancelled when Sen. Edward Kennedy, Rep. John Anderson and Gov. Jerry Brown of California decide not to attend. However, 1,000 national black leaders conduct in-depth discussions on strategies and goals pertaining to maximizing black political clout, employment, housing and affirmative action.

Mar. 14: Following a class-action suit initiated by blacks in 1973, a special election is scheduled for November, which will choose aldermen for two all-black wards in Cairo, Ill. The establishment of the wards abolished the city's at-large voting system, which blacks contended had barred their election to the city council since 1918. The city, which has had a history of racial tension, was comprised formerly of ten precints which were combined into five wards. The City Council was then expanded to five members which includes two blacks.

April 2: Fred D. Gray, a black lawyer nominated by President Carter for a federal district judgeship, is rated unqualified by the American Bar Association (ABA). The ABA accuses Gray of unethical conduct and engaging in fee splitting, client solicitation and the alteration of court records. He says he will counter the allegations in his hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee. His record of achievement in the legal profession includes the defense of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Ala., arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a segregated bus.

April 7: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League predicts that President Carter will not win the same kind of strong support from black Americans in 1980 as he did in 1976,

Politics Cont.

in his campaign for the presidency. On NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" news program, Mr. Jordan says blacks are disillusioned, unhappy and feel that President Carter has reneged on his 1976 campaign promises.

April 13: Black leaders are reportedly concerned about the outcome of the 1980 census and its impact on black political clout. According to the report, although blacks comprise 12% of the nation's population, they comprise only 3% of the Congress. In addition, out of 20 Congressional districts, nine lost substantial numbers of blacks, further threatening political gains by blacks in Congress.

April 18: "Voting: A Key to Political and Economic Viability," a conference sponsored by the National Conference of Black Mayors, opens with its participants expressing opposition to federal and state budget cuts in assistance to the poor, unemployed and the elderly. The three-day session encourages greater political participation by the Mayors and their constituents for increased clout in the development of federal and state policies affecting their cities.

April 23: In an unprecedented decision, the Supreme Court votes 6 to 3, that intentional discrimination must be proven to declare a local election system unconstitutional. Mobile, AL.'s at-large voting system was found constitutional, overturning the rulings of two lower courts. Not one black had been elected city commissioner or to the county school board in the city's history, although blacks comprise 35.4% of its population. Justice William Brennan, Byron White and Thurgood Marshall were the dissenters who wrote separate opinions.

May 2: A poll of 1,177 blacks in late March and early April by Data Black reveals that President Carter leads Republican presidential candidates by a 6 to 1 margin. The President's largest margins of support are among southern blacks, older blacks, the less educated and less well-to-do, according to the survey results. Percy E. Sutton, one of the poll organizers states that the results also indicate that blacks who are "only mildly sympathetic" to President Carter may not vote.

May 11: Early primary results reveal that the black community is supporting President Carter's second-term bid despite criticism of his record by national black leaders, according to reports. The "resounding" victories won by Carter in the southern primaries are interpreted as blacks lack of faith in their ability to enact a "Great Society-style social renewal" agenda as proposed by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

May 23: Additional results from a poll of 1,177 blacks in early April by Data Black indicate that black voter apathy will help the Republican Party's bid for the presidency. Dr. Kenneth Clark, an organizer of the poll, says the apathy could possibly result in a "record black stay-away" in November. In response, black leaders step up their voter education and registration efforts in 17 states with large black populations. Known as "Operation Big Vote 80" the plan attempts to increase black voting by 20% in the 17 states, and is supported by 70 national organizations.

June 4: Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.) abruptly resigns his House seat after the Supreme Court refuses to review his case presented to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which was denied. Diggs, a senior black Congressman, ends a 26-year career marred by formal House censure, resignation of committee and subcommittee chairmanships and conviction on charges of mail fraud and the diversion of $60,000 in payroll kickbacks. He agrees to repay $40,000, and says he leaves Congress with a "clear conscience."

June 11: Governor William G. Milliken sets dates for special primary and special elections to fill the House seat resigned by Rep. Charles C. Diggs. They coincide with the reguarly scheduled August primary and November general election on August 5 and Nov. 4, respectively.

June 14: Based upon a recent ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, the Justice Department drops a voting rights discrimination suit against Hattiesburg, Miss. The high court rules in Mobile, Ala. that it must be proven that "at large" voting systems were intentionally established and excluded black voters. The Justice Department contended that "at large" elections for three members of the Hattiesburg City Commission diluted black voting strength in violation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the 14th and 15th amendments.

June 25: The nomination of Alabama state senator U.W. Clemon is unanimously approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Ranking Republican committee member Sen. Strom Thurmond endorses Clemon and says although he doesn't condone his (Clemon's) late filing of tax returns, there was "no indication whatsoever of fraud." If confirmed by the Senate, Clemon would be the 32nd black appointed to a federal judgeship by President Carter. At the start of his administration, only 19 blacks sat on the bench.

July 10: Minorities and women are to gain greater representation in the Democratic Party based upon recommendations made by its Rules Committee. The recommendations are subject to final approval at the Democratic National Convention in New York City in August. They include; taking the appropriate steps to include minorities in all party activities in numbers representative of their power in the Democratic Electorate, and issuing a mandate that half the delegates to national conventions, as well as all major party committees and boards, should be women.

Politics Cont.

July 15: Former U.S. Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. is ordered to begin serving a three-year prison sentence, stemming from his 1978 conviction on fraud and kickback charges. An appeal to the Supreme Court to hear his case was rejected. Diggs had sought leniency in the form of avoiding prison or a reduced sentence. His sentence begins on July 23, at Maxwell Air Force Base outside Montgomery, Ala.

July 16: Benjamin L. Hooks, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is extended an invitation to address the Republican National Convention, following controversy over Ronald Reagan's failure to address the NAACP's annual convention. The invitation to Hooks is pushed by a delegation of 121 black Republicans who threaten a walkout.

July 25: Former Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D-Mich.) enters federal prison to begin serving a three-year sentence stemming from a mail fraud and payroll kickback conviction. He is jailed at a minimum security facility at Maxwell Airforce Base--the same facility which held convicted Watergate figures.

Aug. 21: The House votes against using the results of the 1980 Census to determine congressional reapportionment by a vote of 222 to 189. The amendment is advocated by Rep. Joseph M. McDade, who says he is concerned by the Census Bureau's inclusion of 21 million aliens and their impact on calculations to determine the number of congressional seats. "Reapportionment" (which is based on the census count), is executed every ten years as mandated by the constitution. Mark Ferber, head of the Census Bureau's legislative liaison says the amendment's effect is to "freeze the current allocation of seats" in the House to the number determined by the 1970 Census. The amendment, attached to a bill appropriating funds to the White House, Postal Service and Treasury Department, faces Senate action.

Aug. 28: The nomination of Judge James E. Sheffield, 47, to a seat on the Virginia Federal bench is further complicated by disclosures that the Justice Department has a separate file on a tax investigation of Sheffield by the Internal Revenue Service. Sheffield calls a halt to the hearings so that he can review the file. However, Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr., who heads the nomination hearings says the file does not contain new information or formal charges against Sheffield. Biden adds that the Justice Department was aware of the additional information when it recommended the judge for the post.

Politics Cont.

Sept. 18: Fred Gray, nominated by President Carter to a federal district judgeship, withdraws his name. Gray, a prominent and seasoned civil rights lawyer in Alabama, was nominated along with another black, Alabama state senator U.W. Clemon. Both were found unqualified for the posts by the American Bar Association. President Carter promptly announces a new nominee, Myron Thompson, of Dothan, Ala., a black lawyer practicing with the law firm of Thompson and Fauwk.

Sept. 26: The Congressional Black Caucus marks its tenth anniversary with its annual legislative weekend. The group of bipartisan representatives cite as their major achievements, the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment law and the 10% "minority-set-aside," law established to ensure minority firms a nearly representative share of Federal contracts. The caucus identifies its current concern as the potential reapportionment of congressional districts affected by the outcome of the 1980 census.

Sept. 29: Blacks are warned to mobilize against growing evangelical Christian political organizations to protect their social progress by the Congressional Black Caucus. During its legislative weekend, the caucus announces plans to spearhead the mobilization effort which will include other national leaders.

Oct. 3: According to reports, black enthusiasm for voting is at a low ebb in 1980, even lower than in 1976 when the turnout rate fell to 49 percent. That percentage was the lowest of any presidential election since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. In addition, a particularly high number of blacks are not endorsing any candidate (10%) and 20% were not sure whether they would vote according to Nicholas Tortorello, supervisor of the Data Black poll of 1,240 blacks in early August.

Oct. 10: Richmond Circuit Court Judge James E. Sheffield denies underreporting his income on federal tax returns and misusing legal clients funds, in an eight-page affidavit and other legal documents. The submission of the materials to the Senate Judiciary Committee conducting hearings on Sheffield's nomination, is announced in two separate press conferences in Washington and Richmond.

Oct. 11: Data Black Public Opinion Polls Inc., predicts that President Carter will fail to win the 82-83% national average of black votes won in his 1976 campaign. According to the poll, President Carter would garner 53% of the black vote, Gov. Reagan would get 8% and Rep. John Anderson would get 8% in a three-way race among the presidential candidates.

Politics Cont.

Oct. 17: The candidacy of Republican nominee Ronald Reagan for President is endorsed by two long-time civil rights leaders the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy and Hosea Williams. Rev. Abernathy cited President Carter's broken 1976 campaign promises as spurring the endorsement which came after a private meeting with Reagan.

Oct. 29: Black elected officials small numbers are attributed to the difficulty that they have in exerting substantial influence on policy and legislation affecting the black community. Although there are 4,600 black elected officials in the United States, they comprise only one percent of the nation's total elected officials. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, blacks are over-represented at the municipal and state government levels (50%) and on local school boards (25%).

Nov. 3: The emergence of conservative thought among some blacks is reported. Conservative blacks are said to "embrace" the ideal of social justice while rejecting liberal approaches which they say have produced psychological and economic dependency rather than progress among blacks. Gloria Toote, a black senior advisor in Ronald Reagan's successful campaign for the Presidency said, "Governor Reagan's approach, our approach, is the economic approach. We talk in terms of entrepreneurship and reducing welfare roles simultaneously with increasing work opportunities and full employment."

Nov. 6: In reaction to the election of Gov. Ronald Reagan to the presidency of the United States, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League states, "We survived Nixon, we can survive Reagan...I think it's also important to dispel the notion that because black people did not vote for Reagan, they will not benefit from whatever positive programs are put forth...If you take Mr. Reagan at his word that he is going to put America back to work again, he can't put just white people back to work."

Dec. 4: United States Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti publicly questions the constitutionality of an anti-busing rider prohibiting the use of federal funds for busing to achieve school desegregation. Civiletti says he will urge President Carter to veto the measure attached to the $9.1 billion appropriations bill for the Justice, State and Commerce Departments.

Politics Cont.

Dec. 12: Black leaders of the nation's major civil rights organizations meet with President-elect Ronald Reagan, who says he will defend the civil rights of minorities. The leaders urge him to appoint a black to a Cabinet position in his administration, and include Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League, Benjamin Hooks, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Dorothy I. Height, President, National Council of Negro Women.

Dec. 15: A group of conservative black Republicans are promised that blacks will be appointed to more than one Cabinet post in the Reagan administration by Edwin Meese 3d, director of the presidential transistion team. Meese also says that blacks will be appointed to other jobs "at the highest executive and managerial levels."

Dec. 23: A black, Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., 58, is named by President-elect Reagan to the Cabinet post of Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. As such, Pierce is the highest ranking black appointee of the new administration. According to reports, Pierce is a life-long Republicam who is Widely respected in legal, financial and civil rights circles. He was the first black partner in a major New York law firm, first to serve on the boards of two major U.S. corporations and the first black general counsel for the Treasury Department. For two decades, Pierce has been a partner in the respected law firm of labor mediator Theodore Kheel.

EDUCATION/DESEGREGATION

Jan. 15: Ralph Nader, consumer advocate, publishes a report entitled "The Reign of the Educational Testing Service" which attacks The Educational Testing Service testing methods for college admittance saying they fail to predict how well students will do, exclude disproportionate numbers of minority students and perpetuate "a class system in the guise of merit."

Jan. 22: Three Supreme Court Justices: Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Potter Stewart and William H. Rehnquist review current policies used by the lower courts to achieve school desegregation. The Justices contend that "in all too many cities," school busing results in white flight and the resegregation of schools and damages the quality of education.

Feb. 9: The South Bend, IN public school system agrees to desegregate its teachers and students by the start of the 1981-82 school year, marking the first time that a school system outside the South has consented to a plan with the Justice Department without going to court.

March 4: The Ferndale, MI school system, one of the few school systems in the country with a black and white racial composition that parallels the national average, has been denied $400,000 a year in federal funds since 1972 because of alleged segregation. Four of its five elementary schools remain less than five percent black despite an open enrollment plan that allows black families to choose which schools their children attend.

March 4: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit rejects a voluntary school desegregation plan submitted by the St. Louis public school system, sending it back to the District Court which has been ordered to oversee a mandatory system-wide integration plan to be completed, by the school board, within 60 days. Blacks make up 75% of the 68,572 students in the system.

March 18: The Supreme Court votes six to three to allow a desegregation plan for Cleveland Public Schools to stand which will require the "crosstown" busing of 52,000 students.

March 30: "Mastery Learning," a new teaching method, is tested in schools nationwide and seems to offer a new method of attacking the problem of low achievement in inner-city schools. The technique was developed for classroom use by Dr. Benjamin Bloom, a professor of education at the University of Chicago, and emphasizes specialized individual attention for students who need it.

Education Cont.

April 5: The Mississippi State Textbook Purchasing Board is enjoined by the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law from rejecting textbooks on racial grounds in a lawsuit.

April 10: Federal District Judge Frank J. Battisti threatens to impose "serious sanctions" against the Cleveland Public School system because of complaints against the school board for not executing a three-phase desegregation plan to achieve racial balance. The school board faces a civil contempt charge and further hearings.

April 21: The American Institute for Research reports that the Rev. Jesse Jackson's PUSH-EXCEL program in six cities has failed to convert its high ideals and inspirational messages into a workable public school program. According to the report, the agenda and materials for its training sessions failed to reflect programmatic activities nor issues of what teacher-advisors should do or how.

April 22: The Justice Department concludes that Chicago's public schools are illegally segregated and invites city officials to begin negotiations for a settlement, rather than file suit against the system immediately. Drew S. Days 3d, Assistant Attorney General, heading the Department's civil rights division says it must take the form of a consent decree which would be supervised and enforced by Federal District Court in Chicago.

April 29: The U.S. Supreme Court refuses to review a 1978 "massive" school desegregation plan, which in effect approves the plan. It requires the busing of 21,000 students in New Castle, Del., and combines 11 independent school districts to remedy segregation in one school district in Wilmington.

May 1: The Justice Department reaches a settlement with the Flint, Mich., school board which will require the addition of six more magnet schools to the public school system to complete desegregation.

May 16: A Justice Department suit charges the Houston school system, the city, the state, the Harris County Department of Education and the Texas Education Agency with "fostering a racially segregated system of public education." The Justice Department alleges that black and Hispanic students are over-represented in the city's schools and is seeking a cross-district school desegregation plan for the 23 school systems in the Houston metropolitan area.

June 5: Suburban schools are exempted from a St. Louis Public School desegregation order by Federal District Judge James H. Meredith because the schools were not a party in an original suit. In an 11-page document Judge Meredith says he is in agreement with a ruling by the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit which said, "an interdistrict remedy has the best chance of permanently integrating," schools in the metropolitan area. Judge Meredith rules that none of the surburban school districts can be ordered to participate until "its rights have been adjudicated."

June 11: A Justice Department suit seeking to include 22 suburban school districts in a desegregation order to the Houston Independent School District is rejected by Federal District Judge Robert O'Conor. The department contends that "sufficient desegregation" has not occured since the original filing of the suit, and that whites fled to the suburban school districts not named in it, resulting in 75% minority enrollment in Houston schools. O'Connor said that it was "too late to throw the gauntlet down," referring to the attempt to include the suburban schools in the desegregation order.

June 25: The Senate authorizes $36 billion in funding for an "aid-to-education," bill over the next five years. It will increase the amount of financial aid grants available to disadvantaged college students, increasing the current maximum annual grant award from $1,900 to $2,600 by 1985.

July 18: A survey by the Research Analysis Corp. for the Boston Globe newspaper reveals that 80% of blacks and whites in the metropolitan area feel that tax dollars are better spent on the improvement of school facilities rather than on programs to bus minority students to white neighborhood schools. The random telephone sampling of 500 persons polled 300 in Boston; 100 in predominately black neighborhoods; 100 in 12 immediate Boston suburbs and 100 in the remaining metropolitan area. The survey, conducted after five years of court ordered busing, also showed that blacks and whites remain isolated from each other and "many" whites prefer that isolation.

July 25: The State Human Relations Commission's effort to ban the Pittsburgh School District from starting its school desegregation plan, is prohibited by state Judge Roy Wilkinson of the Commonwealth Court. The Commission called the desegregation plan inadequate, citing that it would not affect city high schools and would allow half of the city's elementary schools to remain racially unbalanced. The plan which resulted from a 1968 desegregation order originated by the Commission, will desegregate the city's 10 "middle schools" by the fall. Wilkinson said acceptance of the commission's recommended action would freeze an unacceptably segregated school system for two to three years.

Education Cont.

July 29: A 400-page report by Federal officials reveals a "high degree" of racial segregation in Texas' state universities, colleges and junior colleges. Education Secretary Shirley Hufstedler announces that Texas officials will be sent a letter soliciting the submission of a school desegregation plan for its higher education system, without which the state will risk losing federal aid. The report says that the student body at 38 state supported universities and senior colleges, and 47 community colleges are either overwelmhingly white or black, and in many instances have identical school programs. It also found that school facilities and faculty pay at white schools was superior to that of the black schools.

Aug. 10: U.S. Judge John Curtin of the Federal District Court in Buffalo, N.Y., approves the Board of Education's voluntary busing plan to achieve racial balance in the city's school system. The NAACP and the Citizens Council on Human Relations seek an appeal to block the plan.

Sept. 25: A 12-year struggle ends in an agreement between the Chicago School Board and the Justice Department to adopt a "constitutionally acceptable" school desegregation plan (by March 1981). The Department of Education awarded the school board a $422,000 grant to implement the plan.

Sept. 30: The first Annual Black College Day in Washington, D.C. was attended by 18,000 black students. Speeches on the preservation of black colleges and universities were given by black officials and student leaders. The march was organized by black journalist Tony Brown in an effort to draw public attention to the impact of integration and merging of black private and public colleges and universities. Brown contends seven out of 10 blacks attending predominately white colleges do not graduate.

Oct. 9: A panel of nine blacks and nine whites has been named by Federal District Judge Nauman Scott in Alexandria, LA., to form a new biracial committee to oversee desegregation in Rapides Parrish Schools. The appointees represent areas affected by the court-ordered busing plan.

Oct. 23: A desegregation plan was agreed to by the Birmingham, Ala., School Board and the Justice Department, ending a 20-year battle over school integration. The plan specifies magnet programs and middle schools to achieve desegregation with a "minimum of voluntary busing."

Oct. 25: The marked improvement of the Boston School System is attributed in part to court monitoring of its compliance with desegregation laws. According to the article, Boston has gone further that a "numbers game of counting black and white faces," and says the $37 million Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center is illustrative of the court's impact. It was constructed following a court order to create a vocational training facility to prepare students to enter the job market.

Education Cont.

Oct. 28: The Justice Department rejects a desegregation plan for Louisiana's public colleges and universities submitted by the state's Board Of Regents on the grounds that it "projects a continuation of a dual system." The plan sought to settle a civil suit filed against the state by the Federal Government in 1974. Among the Department's charges are that by 1987, student bodies, faculties and administrative staffs in all state schools would continue to be racially segregated.

Nov. 2: Minority students at Harvard University criticize a study that questions their ability to compete with other students, and makes comparisons of the students on racial and religious grounds. The study, a draft review of the university's admissions policies, states in one section that "If elite universities did not compete so heavily for blacks, these students might attend slightly lesser institutions where they might compete as intellectual equals." Derek C. Bok, president of Harvard says the study does not have official standing in the university.

Nov. 17: A two-year study report issued by Catholic University's Center for National Policy links school desegregation programs to sharp increases in housing integration in metropolitan areas. According to the center's research director, school desegregation programs which include white surrounding suburbs give the families "no place to run," spurring the incentive to live in integreted neighborhoods in which their children can attend neighborhood schools. The researcher adds that eventually the trend will lead to an end to busing, but at present, it is necessary to achieve integration.

Dec. 4: Congress sends a $9.1 billion appropriations bill, with controversial legislation preventing the Justice Department from ordering busing to achieve school desegregation, to President Carter. The constitutionality of the anti-busing rider, which prohibits the use of funds "to bring any sort of action to require" busing is publicly questioned by Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti. In addition, black leaders meet with President Carter to urge him to veto the measure.

Dec. 11: The Ann Arbor, Mich., School Board reports that the attitudes and attendance of black elementary school students improve when black english is recognized as a dialect. The court-ordered program which resulted from a suit brought by the parents of 11 black students at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Elementary School, has not evidenced whether the students reading abilities improve as well.

Dec. 14: President Carter vetoes a $9.1 billion funding bill which includes an anti-busing rider that prohibits the Justice Department from initiating court cases to require busing to achieve school desegregation. A spokesman for House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, Jr. says no attempt will be made to

Education Cont.

override the veto. However, anti-busing proponents have vowed to resume their efforts to pass the legislation at the start of the new session of Congress next year.

Dec. 16: A mandatory city and county-wide desegregation plan for St. Louis public schools is probable as a result of the rejection of a state plan for voluntary regional cooperation to achieve court-ordered desegregation. The state plan was rejected by the city Board of Education and the Justice Department because it failed to set specific goals, identify funding sources, or to recommend how many students should be involved. Approximately 30,000 black students attend non-integrated schools.

Dec. 20: The Justice Department threatens to file suit against the Charleston County, S.C., public school system which it calls unconstitutionally segregated. Drew S. Days 3d, Assistant Attorney General for civil rights says the city of Charleston and its seven surrounding county school districts maintain a dual system of public education for blacks and whites. According to Days, 40% of the county's black students attend schools at least 95% black. Blacks make up 54% of the 47,000 student enrollment.

Race Relations

Jan. 1: Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie is clubbed to death, and four white Dade county police officers are charged with manslaughter in connection with the death. McDuffie's motorcycle is found battered following a high speed chase but, Bobby L. Jones, acting director of the metropolitan Dade County Department of Public Safety calls the beating "no accident." A fifth officer is charged with being an "accessory after the fact" for instructing the officers to report the victim's injuries and damaged motorcycle as an accident.

Jan 20: Thirteen Ku Klux Klansmenand American Nazi Party members plead innocent to charges stemming from the fatal shooting of five Communist Workers Party members. The confrontation drew blasts of gunfire during a "Death to the Klan" rally held last Nov. 3. A 14th suspect fails to enter a plea citing his lawyer's illness.

Jan. 22: The murder of 15-year-old Henry Lee Johnson spurs a night of rioting in Idabel, OK in which two persons die. 29-year old Tony Deshazto, a white is arrested in connection with the slaying of the black youth. Johnson's body was discovered near "The Black Hat Club," a private club for whites and the scene of previous racial incidents. In addition, Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan plans a weekend recruiting visit to the town of 6,000 residents.

Feb. 2: Admitting that they lied about the death of black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie, two white Dade County police officers resign and are granted immunity from prosecution. The officers testify that the death was "a killing" and "equivalent to a police riot." The prosecution plans to use their testimony in the trial of four other officers accused of beating McDuffie to death.

Feb. 17: A 302-Page Justice Department report reveals that former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover blocked the prosecution of four Ku Klux Klansmen identified as being responsible for the 1963 bombing that killed four black children at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, AL. In addition, the document discloses that the involvement of an FBI informant in other violent attacks on blacks, civil rights activists and journalists, was also covered up.

Race Relations Cont.

Feb. 21: The Connecticut House of Representatives votes to reprimand and censure Rep. Russell J. Reynolds for answering a United Press International survey on income taxes with a racial slur. The 38-year old legislator answered a question on state taxes by writing: "No! No! No! Income tax. No more taxes. Limit spending. Put the niggers back to work." Censure by the House requires only that Reynolds be reprimanded publicly, and black legislators characterize the action as "a slap on the wrist."

Feb. 28: Two whites are convicted for the random murder of a deaf black man -- 22-year-old Jimmy Lee Campbell. The men, Marvin Dean Noor, 18, and James T. McCarter, 19, are sentenced to 25-years-to-life and the judge recommends that they should not be granted parole at anytime. Prior to the judge's ruling, an arrangement existed which to plead guilty to first-degree murder in lieu of a trial. This practice threatened racial stability between 1,200 blacks and 8,000 whites in Oroville, CA.

March 19: Born from a history of racial strife, the city of Jackson, MS has reportedly changed into one of the "...most integrated -- in schools, neighborhoods and politics -- of the Southern state capitals." Blacks have integrated its Democratic Party, two blacks have been elected to the county board of supervisors and Jackson State College has gained university status with an enrollment of 7,500 blacks, Whites, Asians and Iranians. The changes are attributed to a dilution of the power of staunch segregation forces and the influx of people from other regions of the country.

April 10: Seventy-five blacks demonstrating outside the county sheriff's office, are reportedly attacked by a group of 100 or more whites, sparking racial violence in Wrightsville, GA. According to the town's black leaders, the group of whites included law enforcement officials. State Representative David E. Lucas, who participated in the demonstration, said the county sheriff and his deputies called the demonstrators "niggers" brandishing their sticks and "beating people over the head."

Race Relations Cont.

April 15: At the request of United States Attorney William T. Moore and the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigates an alleged skirmish between black demonstrators and the sheriff and his deputies in Wrightsville, Georgia. The fighting between the two groups reportedly started outside the office of Sheriff Roland Attaway during a protest by the blacks against "economic and political injustices" in the county.

April 21: Three members of the Ku Klux Klan are arrested and charged with assault with intent to commit murder in connection with the gunshot wounding of four black women in Chattanooga, TN. Two of the women are hospitalized in fair condition and the others are treated and released. The Klansmen, ranging in age from 23 to 30, are detained in the city jail in lieu of $40,000 bond.

May 15: Self-acknowledged white supremacist, J.B. Stoner, is convicted of conspiring to bomb the predominately black Bethel Baptist Church in Georgia 22 years ago. Stoner is sentenced to 10 years in prison and released on a $20,000 appeal bond, resulting from his indictment in 1977. No one was injured in the dynamite blast. The 56-year-old lawyer continues his run for the United States Senate.

May 18: The black Liberty City area and predominately black Coconut Grove section of Miami, FL erupts into rioutous violence, killing nine and injuring 163 persons, following the acquittal of four white Dade County police officers in the beating death of a black man. In the night-long unrest, stores are looted, property burned and some whites fatally beaten. During the violence, blacks are heard screaming the name "McDuffie" (Arthur), the black insurance executive beaten to death following a high-speed chase with Dade County police officers for a traffic violation. Dade County officials impose an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew. Three Hundred and fifty National Guard troops set up headquarters in an armory, with 450 more enroute from Orlando.

Race Relations Cont.

May 21: Three persons are shot and 38 persons are arrested during continuing racial violence in Wrightsville, GA. The Rev. Ted Clark of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) charges Sheriff Roland Attaway with violating the rights of the arrested by failing to file charges against them. Among the detainees are local SCLC leaders--the Rev. E.J. Wilson and John Martin. Attaway says at least 15 of the 38 will be charged with inciting to riot, rioting, refusing to obey an officer and interfering with an officer.

May 23: A total of 16 people are killed, 371 injured and 450 arrested following rioting by black Miamians in the wake of the acquittal of four white Dade County police officers in the beating death of Arthur McDuffie. The officers were bound innocent of the charges by an all-white six-man jury. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti announces the initiation of a full-scale federal investigation to respond to black charges of two separate and unequal standards of justice in Miami. The total cost of the rioting reaches an estimated $200 million, and the city is declared a disaster area by the Federal Government. 1,000 National Guardsmen are left on standby duty.

May 29: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., President of the National Urban League is shot and seriously wounded by an unknown assailant in Fort Wayne, IN. Stating that the shooting evidenced "an element of premeditation," William H. Webster, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation says "The shooting was not accidental, and was in furtherance of an apparent conspiracy to deprive Vernon Jordan of his civil rights." The shooting occurs just outside Jordan's motel room.

May 30: Dr. Jeffrey H. Towles, the black chief surgeon who operates on Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President, at Parkview Memorial Hospital, reports on the injury. Dr. Towles says that the shot from the 30.06 rifle entered Jordan's back leaving a hole "almost large enough to put a fist in," and that he is lucky to be alive because the bullet barely missed his spinal column. He says further that the wounded NUL leader is "alert and... inquisitive." Mr. Jordan's wife Shirley, his daughter Vickee and other NUL officials fly to his bedside in Fort Wayne. After seeing her husband, Mrs. Jordan says he is in good spirits.

Race Relations Cont.

May 31: FBI agents conducting a full-scale investigation into the shooting of Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President, discover evidence indicating that more than one person may have been involved. Three matted grassy areas are found by agents. Says one, "it could be the same guy moving around... But the marks were not made by somebody just walking through the area."

June 2: President Carter pays a half-hour visit to the hospital bedside of Vernon E. Jordan Jr.,NUL President, who remains in serious but stable condition in Parkview Memorial Hospital in Fort Wayne, IN. Carter defines his earlier characterization of the shooting as an assassination as "The attempted murder of a prominent person," and says he was not referring to a possible motive.

June 8: A two-hour lie detector test given to Martha C. Coleman, eliminates the possibility of her involvement in the shooting of NUL President Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Coleman was the Fort Wayne Urban League board member with Jordan when the shooting occurred. Coleman's lawyer, Charles F. Leonard says that two different testing methods were used to ensure the validity of the results and that, "As far as I'm concerned, she has been completely ruled out in any connection with this case."

June 13: Vernon E. Jordan Jr., NUL President, is flown to the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center in New York City, via an Air Force medical evacuation plane provided by the White House. Parkview Memorial Hospital officials term his condition as "still serious but stable and improving." In a statement released at NUL headquarters Jordan says he is well on his way to a complete recovery and that "In my personal struggle for recovered health, as in the social struggle for justice, I continue to believe "we shall overcome."

Race Relations Cont.

June 14: The National Urban League announces a $50,000 reward fund for information leading to the arrest of the assailant(s) responsible for the shooting attack on NUL President Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. The funding for the reward comes from a "cross section of America, from business, industry, concerned groups and individuals," according to John E. Jacob, Executive Vice President of the NUL. Jacob reveals that League officials are concerned about the "slow pace of the investigation," and that they are unwilling to believe that the case cannot be solved.

June 19: In a reenactment of the drive between a restaurant and the motel of Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President, FBI officials conclude that an alleged trio of white hecklers had enough time to position themselves for the attack. Fort Wayne police had previously determined that there had not been enough time. FBI spokesman Kenneth Ivan said,"...It would provide a motive... and it would also answer how the sniper knew where Jordan's room was located.

June 27: Questioning of John Larry Ray, (brother of James Earl Ray, the convicted murderer of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.), fails to yield additional information on the shooting attack on Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President. Ray was arrested a day after that attack for robbing a bank in Liberty, IL. FBI officials say Ray cannot be linked to the shooting.

July 10: The six-member U.S. Commission on Civil Rights announces that police brutality is still a serious problem and the major cause of urban disorders. In the first governmental study of this problem since the Kerner Commission convened 12 years ago, the commission advocated granting the Justice Department additional power to prosecute cases of alleged police misconduct, and to initiate suits against local police forces.

Race Relations Cont.

July 18: The Liberty City area of Miami, FL erupts again with rioting and violence, and police order a 9 p. m. to 6 a. m. curfew after three days of conflict. Gov. Bob Graham's office announces that 400 National Guardsmen are on ready-reserve and 50 Florida Highway Patrol troops are alerted. The restricted area (blocked off by police barricades) covers 170 square blocks. The sale of firearms, gasoline for purposes other than car travel and the carrying of alcoholic beverages in public places is prohibited.

Aug. 3: The National Urban League's 70th Annual Conference opens in New York City without Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. NUL President, who had vowed to deliver its Keynote Address. Acting upon advice from Dr. Melvin Platt at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, Mr. Jordan and NUL officials decide to cancel his appearance at the conference, because of insufficient recovery from his injuries. However, the conference is officially opened with a recorded message from Jordan. Dr. Platt states that he is optimistic that Jordan will be ready for discharge from the hospital in the next several weeks.

Aug. 5: In separate visits, presidential aspirants Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan visit NUL President Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. Both men addressed the NUL's 70th Annual Conference, Aug. 3-6, 1980, in New York City. Sen. Kennedy reports that Jordan has made substantial progress in his recovery from a shooting attack. According to Reagan, he and the wounded civil rights leader discuss "his (Jordan's) health and mutual friends."

Aug. 6: Following his speech at the NUL's 70th Annual Conference in New York City, President Carter makes a second visit to Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President, at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. During his speech, Carter promises Urban Leaguers he will modernize American industry and create "millions and millions and millions of jobs." While visiting with Jordan, the incumbent President jokingly vows to be "the last politician to visit him this week."

Race Relations Cont.

Sept. 5: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President, is released from New York City's New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, where he has been a patient since June 12, 1980. The FBI continues its active investigation of the case, and the assailant remains at large despite a $50,000 reward offer. Jordan returns to his Manhattan home to continue his recuperative process, and an agency spokesman announces that the NUL President "plans an early return to his duties," and a press conference the following week.

Sept. 9: Marking the resumption of his duties as NUL President, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., holds his first news conference since the May 29th shooting in Fort Wayne, IN. Jordan says that he will "refuse to let the possibility of renewed violence stand in the way of my beliefs and my duties, " during the news conference at NUL headquarters in New York City. Declaring that he intends to speak out on the issues as they affect black people, Jordan states "Joblessness, discrimination, and abuses in the system of justice are the major issues in the black community, and their resolution will depend, in part, on increasing black political influence."

Sept. 28: A "special forces group" created to kill blacks in the coming "race war," has been in existence in Cullman for a year, according to Roger Handley, Grand Dragon of Alabama's Ku Klux Klan. FBI officials say the group is the most unpredictable and the most dangerous of all the Klan groups.

Sept. 28: The Electric Boat Submarine plant in North Kingstown, RI, One of the nation's largest defense contractors, is investigated by the State Police on charges of Klan activity by some white workers. Black workers tell of various racial threats and harrassment suffered at the plant. A division of General Dynamics Corp. the plant manufactures submarine hulls.

Race Relations Cont.

Oct. 1: Roland Wayne Wood, in Greensboro, NC, testifies against two of his co-defendants who he says boasted of shooting members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) at a "Death to the Klan" rally in November, 1979. The six defendants, members of the KKK and the American Nazi Party, are charged with first degree murder. Wood claims he fired four shotgun blasts in self-defense.

Oct. 3: An all-white jury in Decatur, AL, convicts Curtis Lee Robinson, a black man, of assault with intent to murder a klansman during demonstrations by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the KKK in May 1979. Robinson testified that he shot in self-defense to protect his wife and children, as nine klansmen ran towards his car. He was sentenced to five years and two years probation upon the jury's recommendation.

Oct. 10: Two black men are killed, within two days, in the latest of several killings of black men in Buffalo, N. Y. Black leaders declare the murders to be racially motivated and indicative of a conspiracy against blacks. Erie County District Attorney Edward Cosgrove requests the FBI to take a more active role in the investigations of the murders which he calls the most "bizarre" he has come across in seven years.

Oct. 13: The FBI joins local and state law enforcement officials in the investigation of several racial killings in Buffalo, NY. Blacks in the area attribute the killings to bitterness among whites over what they perceive as preferential treatment of blacks in employment, school desegregation, and other areas. The Rev. Charley H. P. Fisher, a black community leader, says that racial tension exists because the white middle-class also feels itself in a pinch, despite the social ills of blacks. Erie County District Attorney Edward C. Cosgrove obtains search warrants in connection with the killings of the six black men, ranging in age from 14 to 71.

Race Relations Cont.

Oct. 14: The Pennsylvania House of Representatives calls on the state Justice Department to investigate charges of Ku Klux Klan infiltration of the city's 160-member police force. Charges are made that white supermacy medallions are being worn by some white officers. An ongoing investigation of racial tensions between black and white officers is conducted by both the state and city human relations commissions.

Oct. 20: 5,000 black and white residents of Buffalo, NY wear black ribbons on their arms to demonstrate their concern over the killings of six black men in the area. Daniel W. Acker, President of the local chapter of the NAACP, urges U.S. Attorney General, Benjamin R. Civiletti to come to Buffalo to check the progress of the investigation.

Oct. 23: Over the past 15 months, 24 black Americans, mostly men, have been murdered in random attacks in seven cities across the nation. FBI Director, William H. Webster says that the evidence at hand does not substantiate contentions that a nation-wide conspiracy to kill blacks is underway. However, Thomas Atkins, General Counsel of the NAACP says it wants to know whether "some secret and organized effort is being made to foment racial strife."

Oct. 24: A seven-state program of guerilla-style training camps and military activities is being conducted by the KKK and other so-called "right wing groups," according to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith. The ADL reports Klan membership to be over 11,000 and the training camps symbolic of the Klan's national resurgence. ADL Director Nathan Perlmutter urges Attorney General Benjamin R. Civiletti to authorize renewed FBI surveillance of such groups. The camps operate in the states of Alabama, North Carolina, Texas, Illinois, Connecticut, Virginia and California.

Race Relations Cont.

Oct. 29: A black youth, James McCulough, 20, is found quilty of second-degree manslaughter in the death of a white male who was beaten to death during the May 17th rioting in the Liberty City area of Miami, FL. A total of 18 persons were killed, and property damage was $200 million.

Oct. 30: Joseph Paul Franklin, 30, a former nazi and klansman, is arrested in connection with a series of racial sniper killings in five states. Franklin is also to be questioned about the shooting of National Urban League President, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Franklin a native of Mobile, AL, claims he is innocent of all charges.

Nov. 2: The eleventh body of a black youth was found in Atlanta's southeastern section near a riverbank. Four other children are still missing. Mayor Maynard Jackson praises the efforts of the local FBI and asks President Carter to order the bureau to assign more agents to the case. Jackson asked that all city employees and residents pause for a moment of silence at noon as church bells in the city tolled.

Nov. 4: The prosecution begins final arguments at the trial of six members of the KKK and American Nazi Party accused of murdering five Communist Workers Party members at a "Death to the Klan" rally, in Greenboro, NC. The defendants face possible death sentences. The mayor and city council fearing violence after the verdict is announced, endorse a Community Unity Week.

Nov. 6: Federal Magistrate Paul Game, in Tampa, FL orders the preparation of papers to extradite Joseph Paul Franklin to Utah where Franklin is charged with killing two black joggers by sniper fire. In Utah, the civil rights violation against Franklin carries a possible death sentence. Franklin is also wanted for questioning in the shooting of Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President.

Race Relations Cont.

Nov. 11: Joseph Paul Franklin, a former nazi and klansman, pleads not quilty to a Federal charge of violating the civil rights of two black joggers in Utah, who were shot to death. Franklin also faces first-degree murder charges by the state of Utah; is sought in four states for several other sniper killings; and is wanted for questioning in the sniper attack on Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., NUL President.

Nov. 18: An all-white jury in Greensboro, NC finds six Ku Klux Klansmen and American Nazi Party members innocent of first degree murder charges and felonious rioting in the deaths of five members of the Communist Workers Party. The Department of Justice schedules a review of the case to determine whether federal charges should be brought against the defendants, and state charges are still pending against 11 others in connection with the shootout.

Nov. 20: Black residents of Algiers, (a black neighborhood in New Orleans) and the Fischer Housing Project, fear for their lives in the wake of the murder of a city patrolman. The shootings are investigated by the FBI, the State Attorney General's office, the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other grass-roots groups.

Nov. 21: At a press conference, FBI Director William Webster says the arrest of Joseph Paul Franklin was a significant development in the rash killings of blacks and he is confident that, "that belt of activity will stop..." Webster adds that the FBI has maintained an active investigation of the KKK klaverns in connection with the outbreak of nationwide murders of blacks.

Race Relations Cont.

Nov. 24: The Houston Chronicle reports that an instructor at a Ku Klux Klan "survival camp" allegedly teaches Boy Scouts and Civil Air Patrol cadets how to strangle people and fire guns. The course is conducted at Camp Puller (near Houston) which is reportedly frequented by right-wing extremists and used as a training camp for a paramilitary arm of the Klan.

Nov. 24: A Justice Department report warns Federal agencies to cooperate more fully to combat violence by the Ku Klux Klan. The report identifies Bill Wilkinson's invisible Empire as the faction that "bears watching," citing its establishment of a commando training camp in Cullman, AL. Trainees say they are in preparation for a race war. The six-month report scores a "lack of information sharing," between the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms as hindering Klan prosecutions, and the Defense Department for failing to provide evidence of Klan infiltration to law enforcement agencies.

Nov. 27: The State District Attorney announces that 16 additional persons charged in the murders of five Communist Worker Party members in Greensboro, NC will not be prosecuted. He cites the effort as pointless in light of the acquittal of six Ku Klux Klux Klansmen and Nazis charged with fatally shooting the victims. However, United States Attorney H. M. Michaux says that Federal prosecution of the 16 under civil rights statutes is still possible.

Nov. 30: A special report says that violence and rioting erupted in Miami on May 17th because of the black community's perception of racist conditions and of a local political system stacked against them. Issued by an eight-member private citizen's committee appointed by Governor Bob Graham of Florida, it also criticized the State Attorney's office handling of the Arthur McDuffie case (the black insurance executive beaten to death while in police custody). The report also pointed to the underlying problems of poverty, slum housing, functional illiteracy and others as causing the rioting.

Race Relations Cont.

Dec. 2: A poll conducted in October by Massoglia and Associates of East Lansing for the Detroit Free Press, reveals that blacks in Detroit are becoming more distrustful of whites, compared to attitudes polled in 1977. Of 386 blacks surveyed, 64% felt they could trust whites compated to 83% in 1977, and 43% of the blacks felt that whites did not care about helping them compared to 21 percent in 1977.

Dec. 5: After a one-year infiltration of two Ku Klux Klan factions, a reporter for the Nashville Tennesean says the organization is growing more dangerous and should be disarmed. Jerry Thompson, 40, infiltrated Bill Wilkinson's Klan faction and says its operation of a paramilitary training camp near Cullman, AL "bears close srutiny by authorities." a 20-year veteran of the newspaper, Thompson posed as a retired Army sergeant for admission into the Klan.

Dec. 12: Testifying for the government in the civil rights trial of a former Dade County police officer, Dr. Roland Wright says that Arthur McDuffie ..."died of blunt impact injuries on the head (caused) by a beating." Dr. Wright's testimony challenges police claims that the black insurance executive died from injuries resulting from a motorcycle accident. The officer,Charles Veverka, 30, is charged with assisting in the falsification of reports to make the beating appear an accident. The trial is conducted in San Antonio after being switched from three other cities because of racial tension.

Race Relations Cont.

Dec. 18: A Federal Grand Jury acquits Charles Veverka, 30, of four counts of violating the civil rights of Arthur McDuffie, a black who was beaten to death while in police custody. The jury deliberated for 16 hours, finally breaking an 11 to 1 deadlock that threatened a mistrial. Veverka was indicted following violent riots in Miami resulting from the acquittal of four white police officers accused of executing the fatal beating.

Dec. 19: Roaming bands of youths numering from 50 to 200 according to police, throw rocks and bottles in Miami's predominately black Overtown neighborhood, upon news of Charles Veverka's acquittal. Police cordone off a five-block area of N.W. 20th Street after reports of gunfire and 15 police units are equipped with riot gear at the scene.

Dec. 19: A white woman, Karen Gauthier, 40, is sentenced to six months in prison and two years of probation for harrassing an elderly black couple for moving into her all white neighborhood. Gauthier of Great Barrington, MA will serve her sentence at the Federal House of Corrections in Lexington, KY and still faces state charges. Local police say the case is not closed and are seeking a second suspect.

Dec. 30: Roger Adams, 31, is the latest victim of an unknown assailant who is slaying black men in Buffalo, N. Y. Adams was stabbed to death in front of a department store in an attack that Erie County District Attorney Edward C. Cosgrove said "was apparently unprovoked." The man had recently moved to Buffalo from California.

APPENDIX

FOR

"THE BLACK VOTER IN A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR"

By: Eddie N. Williams and Milton D. Morris

National Urban League, Inc.

Research Department

BLACK PULSE

Bulletin No. 1

August, 1980

Initial Black Pulse Findings

Highlights

- Unemployment is unequivocally the number one problem in the black community, with inflation ranking a distant third. Three times as many blacks feel that joblessness (34%) rather than inflation (11%) is the most serious problem.
- Nevertheless, blacks acknowledge that inflation is also having a devastating impact on their economic condition. Two-thirds (68%) of all black household heads said that their incomes had "fallen behind" the rising cost of living over the past two years. In addition, almost half (44%) of all blacks said they were "worse off" financially today than they were a year ago.
- Contrary to the popular belief that the black unemployment crisis is primarily among black youth, joblessness among black heads of household was at depression levels even before the current recession! The actual unemployment rate for black household heads during the last quarter of 1979 was 24%—three times the U.S. Labor Department jobless rate (8%).
- The overwhelming majority of blacks today, regardless of economic status, feel that racial discrimination continues to be widespread About 70% of blacks with incomes of $20,000 or more feel there is "a great deal" of discrimination against blacks today, compared to 61% of blacks with incomes under $6,000.
- Most blacks are getting increasingly impatient with what they feel is an eroding commitment toward racial equality. Three-fourths (75%) of all black heads of household feel that the push for equal rights for blacks today is "too slow." Ten years ago, a Louis Harris survey revealed that only 47% of all blacks felt that the push for racial equality was moving "too slow."
- School suspensions are much more pervasive among blacks than is commonly believed. One-fourth (24%) of black parents with school-age children reported that at least one of their children had been suspended from school.
- Maintaining strong kinship ties continues to be of significance in the black community. About half (46%) of all black families have regular family reunions.
- Contrary to popular belief, the overwhelming majority (90%) of blacks across this nation feel that black people should cooperate with the 1980 Census.

Introduction

In 1979, the National Urban League and its local affiliates launched the Black Pulse, a nationwide survey designed to: (a) assess the needs and status of blacks in such areas as employment, housing, child care, education, health, crime, political participation, family patterns and discrimination and (b) determine the extent to which major governmental policies, programs and services were meeting their needs. Using volunteers and staff primarily from Urban League affiliates as well as from colleges and other community groups, door-to-door interviews were systematically and randomly conducted with about 3,000 black heads of households in central cities, suburbs and rural areas between October 1979 and January 1980.[1]

Since most national surveys of blacks usually have samples about half (about 1,300) as large as the Black Pulse, this is one of the largest nationwide surveys of blacks conducted in the U.S.[2] And it clearly is the most comprehensive survey of the needs and social and economic conditions of black people ever conducted by the black community itself. In this initial report, we will provide an overview of some preliminary findings from the NUL Black Pulse Survey.

Most Important Problem—Unemployment or Inflation?

In recent years there has been widespread debate as to which is the more important problem in the U.S. today—inflation or unemployment? According to most national surveys, whites consider inflation to be a much more pressing problem than unemployment.[3] But the Black Pulse Survey reveals that joblessness is unequivocally considered to be the number one problem in the black community today, with inflation ranking a distant third. One-third (34%) of all black household heads consider unemployment to be "the most important problem facing black people in the U.S. today," compared to only one-tenth (11%) of blacks who felt that the high cost of living was the most pressing problem for blacks. In other words, three times as many blacks felt that joblessness rather than inflation was the most serious problem for blacks today.

Interestingly, contrary to patterns among whites, "middle-income" blacks are just as likely as "low-income" blacks to consider unemployment to be the number one problem for blacks today and inflation to be the third most important problem.[4] While 33 percent of blacks with household incomes under $6,000 considered joblessness to be the most serious problem for blacks, 38 percent of blacks with incomes of $20,000 or more also ranked unemployment as the dominant concern for blacks. On the other hand, only one-tenth of all low-income blacks (11%) and all middle-income blacks (11%) felt that the high cost of living was the most pressing problems for blacks today.

However, because unemployment is considered to be a more serious problem by blacks than inflation, it is erroneous to infer that blacks do not feel that inflation is having a devastating impact on their economic condition. On the contrary, according to the Black Pulse Survey, two-thirds (68%) of all black household heads said their incomes had "fallen behind" the rising cost of living over the past two years. In addition, almost half (44%) of the respondents said they were "worse off financially today (than) . . . a year ago."

The overwhelming majority of both low-income and middle-income blacks indicate that their household incomes have not kept up with inflation. Almost three-fourths (73%) of blacks with incomes under $6,000 report that their incomes have fallen behind the cost of living, compared to 60% of blacks with incomes of $20,000 or more. At the same time, about half (51%) of low-income blacks feel that they are financially worse off today than they were a year ago, compared to 31% of middle-income blacks. But only 24% of middle-income blacks said they were better off financially today, compared to 15% of low-income blacks. Thus, a higher proportion of middle-income (and low-income) blacks feel that they are financially worse off today than feel they are better off.

The Continuing Significance of Racism

Another controversial issue is the extent to which there has been a significant decline in racism as a key determinant of the economic status of blacks. The most widespread method used to make such a determination has been to conduct comparative analyses of the social and economic status of blacks based on such "objective" measures as occupational position, educational attainment and income level. Researchers have reached opposite conclusions using such an approach depending on whether (and how) they compare blacks to themselves or whether (and how) they compare blacks to whites at the same point in time.[5]

A less frequent approach that is employed to ascertain the significance of racism in the lives of blacks is to ask them directly. Most national surveys have traditionally asked whites about their perception of the extent of racial discrimination. Consequently, it has often been inferred that discrimination has significantly declined because of the large drop in the proportion of whites perceiving it.

However, when blacks are asked directly about the significance of racism, one finds that it continues to be one of the most over-riding concerns of blacks today. In fact, discrimination ranks as the second most important problem for blacks today—regardless of their economic status. According to the Black Pulse Survey, 16% of all black household heads consider discrimination to be the most important problem facing blacks today. And, once again, blacks who are middle-income (15%) are just as likely as those who are low-income (14%) to place racism as the second most serious problem for blacks.

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of blacks feel that black people are being discriminated against extensively today. About 64% of all respondents feel that black people are being discriminated against "a great deal" in the U.S. today. And, surprisingly, middle-income blacks are *more* likely than low-income blacks to feel that discrimination is widespread in this nation. For, 70% of blacks with incomes of $20,000 or more feel there is "a great deal" of discrimination against blacks today,compared to 61% of blacks with incomes under $6,000.

Thus, if there has been a significant decline in racism in recent years, middle-income blacks appear to be less aware of it than low-income backs. In later Black Pulse reports, we will more closely examine the extent to which both low-income and middle-income blacks report experiencing discrimination themselves in such areas as jobs, housing, loans, public accommodations and contacts with public and private agencies and officials.

Rising Black Rage?

The Black Pulse Survey reveals that, in addition to perceiving widespread racism in the U.S., blacks are getting increasingly impatient with what they feel is an eroding commitment toward equality. In order to assess the degree of black satisfaction or impatience with the current push for racial equality, respondents were asked, "Is the push for equal rights for black people in this country moving too fast, at about the right pace or too slow?" Seventy-five percent of all black household heads felt that it was "too slow," 20% said it was "about right," while only 5% felt it was moving "too fast."

The fact that the overwhelming majority of blacks today feel that the push for racial equality is too slow is a dramatic increase from the proportion of blacks who felt that way at the beginning of this decade. In a 1970 Louis Harris national survey commissioned by the National Urban League, black respondents were asked a similar question, "Is the push for racial equality in this country moving too fast, at about the right pace or too slow?" About half (47%) of all blacks felt it was moving "too slow," 41% said it was "about right," while 12% felt it was "too fast." Thus, as a result of the momentum of the civil rights movement of the 1960's, a majority (53%) of blacks were relatively satisfied with the push for racial equality by the end of that decade. But this "satisfied" majority decreased by one-half during the 1970's, so that today only one-fourth of all blacks feel that the push for racial equality is "about right" (20%) or "too fast" (5%).

Interestingly, it is the middle-income blacks—the group that is supposed to have made the most significant progress during the '70's—who are *most* dissatisfied with the pace of the push for racial equality today. While 72% of blacks with incomes under $6,000 feel that it is moving "too slow," 83% of blacks with incomes of $20,000 or more are similarly dissatisfied, according to the Black Pulse Survey. Only about one-fourth of low-income blacks feel that the push for equal rights for blacks is moving "about right" (22%) or "too fast" (6%), while less than one-fifth of middle-income blacks feel that it is moving "about right" (15%) or "too fast" (2%).

In sum, these findings reveal that the overwhelming majority of blacks today—regardless of economic status—feel that racial discrimination is widespread and that the push for racial equality is significantly lagging. Thus, the ingredients for such eruptions as the devastating racial disorders in Miami in May, 1980, may exist in many other black communities across this nation.

Other Areas of Concern

Clearly, unemployment, discrimination and inflation were the top three concerns of blacks in response to the open-ended question, "What do you think is the *most* important problem facing black people in the United States today?" But there were many other issues that blacks felt were significant to them. About one-tenth (9%) of the black respondents cited "inadequate income" as the most important problem for blacks. Obviously, many of the blacks who felt that unemployment and inflation were severe problems for blacks also felt that blacks suffered from a lack of adequate income, but their volunteered responses gave greater emphasis to dimensions more closely related to joblessness and the high cost of living. On the other hand, those who felt inadequate income was the major problem for blacks volunteered responses emphasizing the poverty conditions and low wages prevalent among blacks.

Respondents in the Black Pulse Survey also expressed concern about problems relating to education, housing, crime, child care, family patterns, police relations and other areas. In later Black Pulse reports we will examine many of these concerns in great detail. However, we will now attempt to briefly illustrate how a systematic assessment of the experiences and conditions of blacks throughout this nation can have important implications for improving many key social policies, e.g. concerning such controversial issues as the measurement of unemployment, school suspensions, foster care and the census undercount.

How Extensive is Black Unemployment?

Why should unemployment be the dominant concern of blacks? Since the overwhelming majority of black household heads are employed, why should they feel that unemployment is the paramount issue for blacks? The Black Pulse Survey reveals that the primary reason that unemployment is a central concern for most blacks is because joblessness is much more pervasive throughout the black community than governmental statistics indicate.

Using the U.S. Labor Department's method of classifying individuals as "employed" (i.e., currently working) and "unemployed" (i.e., looking for work), the Black Pulse Survey yielded an unemployment rate of 20% for all blacks 16 years and over. This is about double the Labor Department's published jobless rate of 11% for blacks during the fourth quarter of 1979, when most of the Black Pulse interviews were conducted. It should be clearly understood, however, that the 20% unemployed rate for blacks in the Black Pulse Survey does not even include "discouraged workers" (i.e., those who want work, but are not actively looking for it).

But the Black Pulse Survey also revealed that unemployment among black heads of household was also twice as high as government unemployment rates. While the Labor Department indicated that the unemployment rate for black household heads in the fourth quarter of 1979 was 8 percent, the Black Pulse Survey revealed that their jobless rate was 15 percent—even when discouraged workers were excluded.

One possible explanation for this discrepancy in the jobless rates for black houshold heads is that while the government's survey, the Current Population Survey (or CPS), accepts the responses of *any* person 14 years and over regarding the employment status of all other members of that household, the Black Pulse Survey asked *only* heads of households (i.e., either a husband or a wife or an unmarried head) about their own, their spouse's and other household members' employment status. Household heads were used as the only respondents in the Black Pulse Survey partly in response to criticism of the Current Population Survey's use of any adult as a proxy or respondent for other household members—increasingly by telephone. We made the assumption that household heads would be able to provide more accurate information about their employment status than any other member of that household if they were contacted directly *and* in person. This assumption is strongly reinforced by recent findings from a large-scale continuing study of youth (i.e., the National Longitudinal Survey) conducted by Ohio State University's Center for Human Resources Research for the U.S. Labor Department, which also used direct interview techniques.

By conducting comprehensive personal interviews with youth about their own employment status in early 1979, the Ohio State researchers obtained unemployment rates for young people in general that were about 62% higher than their jobless rates according to the Labor Department's Current Population Survey. Most significantly, these researchers estimated that governmental statistics understate the unemployment rate for black and female youth by 100%![6] In other words, like the Black Pulse, the Ohio State survey also obtained unemployment figures for blacks that were twice as high as government figures. The findings from these two surveys lend strong support to the concern expressed by the President's National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics regarding the extent of inaccuracy in labor force statistics that may be due to increasing use of telephone rather than personal interviews and proxy rather than self-respondents in the government's Current Population Surveys.[7]

But the use of substitute respondents and telephones are not the only sources of error in governmental labor force figures. A major deficiency in official unemployment data is the failure to incorporate the "discouraged workers"—those persons who want work, but are discouraged from actively seeking it. Past studies using the NUL Hidden Unemployment Index have consistently found that the actual unemployment rate among blacks is significantly understated in Labor Department figures because of the exclusion of discouraged workers.[8] Moreover, the President's unemployment panel also strongly urged the Labor Department to place high priority on determining the feasibility of incorporating discouraged workers into future unemployment figures.

Consequently, the Black Pulse Survey included questions that facilitated gauging the extent of "hidden unemployment" among black heads of households. By adding discouraged workers (i.e., those who want work, but are not currently looking for it) to the "official" unemployed (i.e. those who are looking for work), the actual unemployment rate for black household heads soared from 15% to 24%—three times the Labor Department jobless rate of 8% for them during the last quarter of 1979. Because of the onset of a new recession during the first half of 1980, the actual levels of joblessness among black household heads today are even higher than those revealed in the Black Pulse Survey which was conducted largely during the fourth quarter of 1979.

Thus, contrary to the popular belief that the black unemployment crisis is primarily concentrated among black youth, our nationwide survey indicates that the actual extent of joblessness among black heads of households was already at depression levels prior to the current recession.

Yet unemployment is not only a severe problem for black household heads who want work, but it has also plagued sizable numbers of those who are currently working. About one-fifth (18%) of all currently-employed black household heads were out of work at some time during 1979—many of them for extended periods.

With one-fourth of all black household heads unable to obtain work and one-fifth of those currently working having been unemployed for extended periods of time, it should now be quite clear why unemployment was the dominant concern in the black community—even before the 1980 recession. Moreover, these findings refer only to joblessness among black household heads and do not reveal the pervasiveness of unemployment among other members of black households—who usually have much higher levels of joblessness. Thus, even black households in which both heads are employed are often affected by unemployment because of the high jobless rates among other household members. In subsequent Black Pulse reports, we will examine in detail the extent of joblessness among other household members, most especially black youth.

In sum, these findings reveal that, prior to the 1980 recession, unemployment among black heads of household was already at depression levels. When discouraged workers are excluded, the unemployment rate for black household heads was 15%. But when the hidden unemployed are included, the actual jobless rate for black household heads soared to 24%—three times the Labor Department rate. Furthermore, one-fifth of the black household heads who are currently working were unemployed at some time during 1979.

School Suspensions—Isolated or Widespread?

Another volatile issue in the black community today is the extent to which black children are being unfairly suspended and expelled from schools. While many blacks contend that such "push out" practices are widespread, many school officials respond that disproportionate suspensions of black children are isolated or concentrated in only a selected number of school systems.

But, the Black Pulse Survey reveals that such experiences with school systems are much more pervasive among blacks than is commonly believed. In fact, about one out of every four (24%) black parents with school-age children reported that at least one of their children had been suspended from school. As one might expect, low-income parents were more likely than middle-income parents to have had their children suspended. Yet, although 29% of black parents with incomes under $6,000 said their children had been suspended, a surprisingly large proportion (18%) of parents with incomes of $20,000 or more also had children who had been suspended. Such relatively high rates of suspension in black families raise serious questions about the racial equity of school suspension practices across this nation.

As might be expected, the proportion of black children expelled from schools is much lower than the proportion suspended. But the fact that almost one out of every ten (7%) black parents with school-age children throughout this country had at least one of their children expelled from school is still cause for great concern.

Placement of Children With Non-Relatives

But not only are black children being disproportionately suspended from schools, they are also being disproportionately removed from their homes. Historically, blacks have been concerned about the under-utilization of relatives by agencies in providing services to children and families. Such insensitive social policies are most evident in the area of foster care and adoption, where much greater priority is given to non-relatives over relatives in the placement of children.

Many social service agencies contend that such practices exist because no relatives can usually be found to provide foster care or adoption services to black children. In order to determine the extent to which black families were indeed isolated from relatives, the Black Pulse Survey asked, "Do you (or your spouse) have any relatives who live in this city, but not in this household?" Eighty-five % of all black household heads reported relatives living in their same city—but not in their immediate households.

Thus, the overwhelming majority of black families today are not isolated from relatives. And if this nation is genuinely concerned about building on the strengths of *all* families in America, social policies should be modified to give greater priority to utilizing relatives in providing vital services and support to black children and their families.

Another indicator of the strong bonds among kin in black families today is the continuing significance of family reunions. Since the prevalence of this phenomenon among blacks (or whites, for that matter) had never before been gauged in any national survey, the Black Pulse Survey asked its respondents, "Does your (or your spouse's) family have planned family reunions other than gatherings for weddings, graduations and funerals?"

About half (46%) of all black households indicated that their families did hold periodic family reunions. Interestingly, middle-income blacks were more likely to have family reunions than low-income blacks. 63 percent of black households with incomes of $20,000 or more held family reunions, compared to 38% of blacks with incomes under $6,000. This is probably partly due to the fact that it is becoming increasingly expensive for many extended black families to hold regular family reunions. Subsequent Black Pulse reports will examine in depth the role of extended families among both low-income and middle-income blacks today.

The Census Undercount

Another important concern in the black community, especially during this year of the 1980 Census, is the historic undercount of blacks in decennial censuses. The Census Bureau estimated that a total of 5.3 million persons were missed in the 1970 Census—2 million of whom were black. Or, while 2% of whites were left out, the Bureau reported that about 8% of the black population were omitted. This disproportionate undercount of blacks represents the denial of equitable political representation of blacks in Congress as well as in state and local legislative bodies. In addition, it represents the loss of incalculable billions of dollars in potential federal (and state) per capita aid in such vital areas as employment, housing, economic development, transportation, education, social services and revenue-sharing to cities with sizable black populations.

A continuing controversy around this issue is the extent to which the black undercount is primarily due to widespread hostility of blacks toward the census or to significant deficiencies in Census Bureau enumeration techniques and procedures in black communities. Unfortunately, since no national survey had ever inquired about the attitudes of blacks toward the Census, it had not been possible to systematically test the validity of these opposing viewpoints.

However, the Black Pulse Survey did ask all of its respondents the following question, "Do you think that black people should cooperate with the 1980 Census by completing and returning the census forms that are sent to them? Contrary to popular belief, 90% of all black respondents felt that blacks *should* cooperate with the 1980 Census, only 4% felt they should not cooperate, while 6% said they did not know. The overwhelmingly favorable attitude of blacks toward the Census clearly indicates that, if as many blacks are left out of the 1980 Census as were missed in 1970, this disproportionate undercount cannot be attributed to widespread opposition in the black community. Census Bureau procedures will have to be significantly revamped, in accordance with recommendations of its minority advisory committees, in order to obtain a much more accurate count of minorities in future censuses.

Methodology

The Black Pulse is a nationwide needs assessment survey of blacks directed by the National Urban League and its local affiliates. As such, it primarily focuses on the social and economic needs and conditions of blacks rather than on their opinions concerning national issues.

A planning grant from the Ford Foundation facilitated the initial efforts to launch the Black Pulse in early 1979 and an implementation grant from Carnegie Corporation insured the successful execution of those plans in the field in the fall and winter of 1979. Mathematica Policy Research, a well-respected survey research firm based in Princeton, New Jersey, was retained to provide expertise in such vital areas as: (a) drawing a nationally representative sample of blacks; (b) training national, regional and local field staff; (c) supervising the field efforts across the nation and (d) processing the data for analysis by NUL staff.

The Black Pulse Survey used a systematic stratified sample of the black population in the U.S. The strata consisted of the following three types of localities: central cities, suburbs, and rural/non-metropolitan areas. The central city stratum was over-sampled, while the rural/non-metropolitan stratum was under-sampled. The selection of individual census tracts and blocks for the sample used a multi-stage, random procedure based upon their black populations according to the 1970 Census. After blocks were initially selected, the sample was updated for each block using visual estimation techniques to verify the extent to which 1970 black population patterns were still relevant in 1979. When the 1970 Census figures varied significantly from the visual estimation of the population, the sample size for that block was changed to reflect the more recent data on the black population.

In order to enhance the quality and generalizability of the data collected, several constraints were instituted in the sample design. Contrary to the practice in most national surveys, it was decided that *only* heads of households (i.e., a husband or a wife or an unmarried adult head) would be eligible to be respondents in the Black Pulse Survey. Secondly, there was to be no substitution or replacement for households that refused to cooperate, or in which the heads were not available after repeated callbacks. And, third, all interviews with the heads of households had to be conducted in person and not by telephone. A further constraint was added to our design which was not desired. It was that no respondent would be paid to be interviewed—since no funds were available for it.

The overwhelming majority of interviewers and local supervisors participating in the Balck Pulse Survey were unpaid volunteers recruited by Urban League affiliates. In addition to volunteers from their own staff, affiliates obtained many volunteers from black colleges, community action agencies and other community-based groups. Volunteers from National Urban League staff in its New York Headquarters, its regional offices and other departments also provided vital assistance to this historic endeavor.

The bulk of the interviewing efforts in the field occurred between October and December 1979. A few localities continued field efforts through February, 1980. About 3,000 interviews with black heads of household were completed during that period of time. Thus, approximately 1,000 interviews were completed a month. Interviews with unmarried heads were usually completed within a half-hour, while interviews with married heads (who were asked comparable information about their spouses) usually took about an hour.

The National Urban League hopes to be able to conduct the Black Pulse Survey on a regular basis. Since the social and economic needs and conditions of blacks are not as quickly susceptible to change as are opinions, it would not be necessary or desirable to conduct a nationwide Black Pulse Survey on an annual basis. However, because of the significance of such data for policy-makers, social action groups and other key decision-makers, the National Urban League is confident that it will acquire adequate financial resources to systematically assess the needs of blacks and the impact of major policies on addressing those needs on a continuing basis as a vital service to this nation.

Footnotes

1. For a detailed description of the survey design and field procedures, see the "methodology" section of this report.

2. Another large-scale national survey, focussing on both the mental health needs of blacks and the conditions of the black elderly is currently being conducted by James Jackson at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research

3. Our findings are reinforced by a New York Times/CBS News telephone poll of 1500 adults across the nation between June 18-22, 1980. In responding to the question, "Which do you think is a more important problem facing this country today—unemployment or inflation?, whites were more likely to feel that inflation (50%) was more important then unemployment (29%), while blacks felt that unemployment (51%) was more important than inflation (30%). See *New York Times,* June 27, 1980, p.1

4. For brevity, the term "middle-income" will be used throughout this report to refer to "middle *and* upper-income" blacks with incomes of $20,000 or more. And, "low-income" blacks will refer *only* to blacks with incomes under $6,000

5. Robert B. Hill, *The Illusion of Black Progress,* Washington, D.C.: NUL Research Department, 1978.

6. Judith A. Greene, "Youth Unemployment Worse than Thought But Not Insoluble," *Jobs Watch,* Vol. 1, No. 3, March-April 1980, P. 1-2. A bulletin published by Catholic University's Center for National Policy Review; Also see "U.S. Study Hints at More Jobless in Youth Ranks," *New York Times,* February 29, 1980.

7. U.S. National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics, *Counting the Labor Force,* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.

8. For a more detailed description of the National Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index, See *NUL Quarterly Economic Report on the Black Worker,* NUL Research Department, Washington, D.C.

APPENDICES

FOR

"THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK AMERICANS"

By: Dr. Bernard C. Watson

APPENDIX I

Median Years of School Completed (25 and over)

	1970	1975
Blacks	9.8	10.9
Whites	12.1	12.4

Source: U.S. Census, *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the U.S.: and Historical View, 1790-1978*, Series P-23, No. 80, p. 93.

School Enrollment (3 - 34 Years)

Percent Change 1970-1978

	White	Black
Nursery	63	75.3
Kindergarten	-9.4	5.9
Elementary	-17.9	-10.5
High School	1.4	24.1
College	26.0	95.4

Source: U.S. Census, *Population Profile of the U.S.: 1978*, No. 336, April, 1979, p. 20.

APPENDIX II

U.S. Total Fall Enrollment by Program, Area and Ethnic Background, 1976

	Black	White	Other	% Black
Agriculture and Natural Resources	3,225	141,909	11,386	2.1
Architecture/Environmental Design	3,117	58,260	8,309	4.5
Biological Sciences	21,100	270,915	29,132	6.6
Business/Management	125,367	1,061.755	109,566	9.7
Engineering	22,838	363,504	69,306	5.0
Dentistry	823	18,185	1,485	4.0
Medicine	3,464	51,046	4,085	5.9
Veterinary Medicine	125	5,849	152	2.0
Law	5,441	108,900	6,130	4.5
Physical Sciences	7,036	141,842	16,176	4.3
All others	842,144	6,857,009	721,355	10.0

Source: James R. Mingle, Black Enrollment in Higher Education: Trends in the Nation and the South (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978) p. 29-38

Doctoral Degrees Awarded To Blacks, 1964-1976, United States

Year	Number	Annual % Increase	% of Total Degrees
1964	14,490		2.3
1970	29,866		2.8
1971	32,107	7.5	2.8
1972	33,363	3.9	2.7
1973	34,777	4.2	2.7
1974	33,816	-2.8	2.6
1975	34,083	0.8	2.6
1976	34,064	-0.1	2.6

Source: James R. Mingle, Degree Output in the South, 1975-76: Distribution by Race (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978) p. 2.

APPENDIX III

Master's Degrees Awarded To Blacks, 1964-1976, United States

Year	Annual % Increase	% of Total
1964		16.4
1970		19.6
1971	10.7	20.2
1972	9.2	20.7
1973	4.8	20.7
1974	5.2	21.1
1975	5.6	22.4
1976	6.6	23.4

Source: James R. Mingle, Degree Output in the South, 1975-76: Distribution by Race (Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978) p. 3

First Year U.S. Medical School Enrollments

Year	Number		Percent	
	Black	White	Black	White
1974-75	1,106	12,595	7.5	85.3
1975-76	1,036	13,156	6.8	86.0
1976-77	1,046	13,383	6.7	85.7
1977-78	1,085	13,732	6.7	85.1
1978-79	1,061	14,048	6.4	85.1

Source: "U.S. Medical Student Enrollment, 1974-75 through 1978-79" Datagram.

APPENDIX IV

Total Enrollment - U.S. Law Schools

Year	Number		Percent
	Black	White	Black
1978-79	5,350	121,606	4.39
1977-78	5,305	118,557	4.47
1976-77	5,503	117,451	4.69
1975-76	2,127	116,991	4.38
1974-75	4,995	110,713	4.51

Source: American Bar Association, A Review of Legal Education in the United States, Fall 1978 (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1979) pp. 60, 63.

1976 Total Black Scientists - United States

	Percent	
	Black	White
Computer Specialists	1.6	96.3
Engineers	0.7	96.7
Mathematical Specialists	3.8	93.2
Life Scientists	1.4	96.2
Physical Scientists	1.6	94.3
Environmental Scientists	0.1	98.1
Psychologists	1.6	97.9
Social Scientists	1.7	96.0

Source: Digest of Educational Statistics 1979 edition (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1977) p. 190.

APPENDIX V

(The following list of recommendations to the black community was prepared by Dr. Bernard C. Watson)

1. Black organizations, particularly civil rights organizations, and fraternities and sororities, should make the education of black Americans a top priority. Each of these organizations should establish local and national programs to encourage, but more importantly, to recognize and acknowledge the educational achievements of black children and youth.

2. Black churches, because they touch so many black families, should establish, within their churches, programs of tutoring, counseling and motivation to encourage, motivate, and reward achievement and excellence. Scholarship programs for deserving church members should also be established to help defray college expenses of deserving youth.

3. Associations and organizations of black professionals should institute programs of information and education for parents and families to acquaint them with ways in which they can help their children. Program components should include information and counseling on test-taking, financial aid opportunities, career counseling and selection and the history of black achievement and struggle.

4. Black political leaders and elected officials should learn to cooperate with parent and youth groups to insure that appropriate funding and programs for black children and youth are available even in periods of declining resources and fierce competition for such resources.

5. Black leadership, whether political, civic rights, religious, or educational, whether at the neighborhood, city, state or national level, should accept the responsibility of informing and reminding black people, particularly black youth, that we must assume greater responsibility for our own future. We must again rely on our own integrity, resources, energy and courage if we are to maintain the gains we have made and to move forward in our continuing quest for equality.

APPENDIX

FOR

"THE BLACK VOTER IN A PRESIDENTIAL YEAR"

By: Dr. Charles V. Hamilton

THE NATIONAL BLACK AGENDA FOR THE '80's

Richmond Conference Recommendations

More than 1,000 Black leaders, representing over 300 organizations and millions of constituents across the country, met in Richmond, Va., February 28 to March 2, to adopt a national political, social, economic and international agenda for the decade of the Eighties. The convenors were: National Council of Negro Women, National Conference of Black Mayors, the Black Leadership Forum, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Black Leadership Roundtable, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, and Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Richard G. Hatcher, mayor of Gary, Ind., and president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, served as conference chairman. M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, headed the program committee. Other national leaders who played prominent roles in the convention included: Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.); Gustav Heningburg, president, the Greater Newark Urban Coalition; Benjamin Hooks, director, NAACP, and president, Black Leadership Forum; Dick Gregory; Rev. Jesse Jackson, president, Operation PUSH; Samuel Jackson, Council of 100; Vernon Jordan, president, National Urban League; Coretta Scott King, president, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change; Dr. Joseph Lowery, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Henry Marsh, mayor, Richmond, Va.; Rev. Jerry Moore, councilman, Washington, D.C.; Basil Patterson, secretary of state, New York; Noel Taylor, mayor, Roanoke, Va.; C. Delores Tucker, national president, Federation of Democratic Women; Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, California State Legislature; Eddie N. Williams, president, Joint Center for Political Studies; and Coleman Young, mayor, Detroit, Mich.

The agenda recommendations were developed in 19 workshops comprised of moderators, panelists, and a cross section of the conference delegates. These workshops were coordinated by Maudine Cooper, acting vice president, National Urban League; Randall Robinson, executive director, TransAfrica; Eddie N. Williams, president, Joint Center for Political Studies; Dr. Charles Betsey, director, National Urban Coalition; and Dr. David Swinton, director, Minorities and Social Policy Programs, Urban Institute.

Following is an unedited, unexpurgated version of the conference agenda, adopted in a plenary session on March 1, 1980. A final and official agenda will be published soon by the Conference Secretariat which is presently housed at the National Urban Coalition in Washington, D.C.

I. RECOMMENDATIONS ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Jobs, Inflation and Economic Policy

1. A Comprehensive Economic Policy should emphasize aggressive and full implementation of the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act (Hawkins-Humphrey Bill); Federal policy should abandon the tactic of using unemployment to combat inflation.

2. Budgetary policy should not be formulated in a way that trades off the interests of Blacks and other minorities to increase defense spending. If defense spending is increased, the size of the total budget should be increased accordingly so as not to further worsen the already serious situation of Blacks and other minorities.

3. Recognizing that foreign investment by U.S. multi-national firms can assist economic growth in developing countries, but often creates unemployment at home, U.S. trade adjustment assistance and retraining assistance should be provided those Black communities affected by such investment policy.

4. The basic premise of national energy policy should be to guarantee the availability of adequate energy for all persons at prices they can afford.

5. Blacks should have full and complete participation in all government-sponsored efforts to develop alternative energy supplies.

6. Blacks should have greater participation, at all levels, in the formulation, development, and implementation of national, state, and local economic policies.

Housing, Urban & Rural Development

1. A National Development Policy for Blacks should place greater emphasis on developing and revitalizing existing Black communities. This policy should be carried out with better safeguards against displacement. Less emphasis should be placed on policies which encourage spatial deconcentration.

2. A National Development Policy for urban and rural areas should place greater emphasis on increasing Black ownership of land, housing and other resources. Policies which perpetrate poverty through transfers and subsidies should be de-emphasized.

3. Federal grant and procurement policy should be restructured in the following way:

a. Greater emphasis should be placed on direct funding of Black community-based organizations.

b. A minimum of 15% of Federal procurement and development funds should be set aside for Black institutions.

c. Greater emphasis should be placed on categorical programs and specific targeting at development programs on the most distressed communities. Entitlement programs like general revenue sharing should be de-emphasized.

4. It is recommended that the conference convenors establish a mechanism to implement the conference agenda and establish communication with the grass roots community after the conference is adjourned.

Business and Economic Development

1. Energy, its availability, its production and its use will exert tremendous influences on all aspects of American life. Energy production will present tremendous economic opportunities for Black business during the decade of the 80's. All necessary steps must be taken to ensure minority business participation in the construction of the proposed gas pipelines, and gasohol research and development plus any other energy-related programs which will establish a pattern for minority business participation in energy development during the 80's.

In addition, the Executive branch should be encouraged to report to Congress and the minority community on its progress in implementing the minority business stipulations included in legislation authorizing right-of-way use on federal land in the construction of the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System.

2. International trade is a viable means for developing large scale, high growth industries controlled by Black people. We recommend the following: a. Pinpoint the opportunities for trade with disadvantaged countries; b. Use all resources available to maximize trade with these countries; and c. Encourage Black-owned manufacturing firms to participate in such trade.

3. It is recommended that a national business and economic development network serve as a central body in the dissemination of information to Black people on business and economic development issues, particularly as they relate to how to get access to seed capital, and continuing funds to those already involved in those facets of business. This national organization should work in conjunction with community action agencies.

4. It is recommended that the Community Action Program be used also as a network for access to capital.

5. Seminars on business and economic development should be held every six months to educate black businesses and future investors on economics and economic opportunities, investment, and methods for acquisition of capital and/or grants.

6. We must develop expertise in the writing of grants; develop methods and lobbies to move these "grants" through the political systems; and pursue state and municipal underwriting to provide low-interest loans to minority businesses.

7. We should pursue and encourage personal financing of minority business ventures by minorities themselves.

8. It is recommended that the National Conference on a Black Agenda for the 80's develop a national task force of leaders and community representatives to monitor the developmental processes and operational methods of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank and to promote, encourage, and spearhead cooperative economic development within poor and minority communities.

9. There should be specific minority set-asides in the National Public Works and Economic Development Act. The Congressional Black Caucus and other organizations should lobby for the passage of this Act including specific minority set-aside provisions.

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Labor Market

1. A high level national task force should be convened at once to develop a comprehensive national policy to eradicate the inequalities that Blacks experience in employment, whatever the causes. This task force must be charged with creating the proper mix of economic, manpower, education, equal opportunity and affirmative action policies to achieve measurable results in the 1980's.

In the interim, current efforts to deal with the labor market problems of Blacks should be maintained and increased efforts should be targeted at Black youth.

2. A major effort should be devoted to exploring the potential of Black business development to solve the excessive labor market problems of Blacks. A substantial increase in funding for Black business development, research, demonstration and evaluation efforts is required. A major effort should also be made to increase Black ownership and participation on the boards of directors of publicly held private sector corporations.

3. An effort should be made to make corporations and labor unions more responsive to the needs of Blacks.

4. Blacks should continue their support for a full employment economy. Efforts should be encouraged to find ways compatible to the majority to increase the capacity of the economy to utilize human resources as well as to more adequately compensate low wage workers. Efforts should be encouraged to find institutional mechanisms, such as work sharing, to minimize the impact of cyclical fluctuations.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Education

1. Convene a special Black Conference on Education to more carefully examine a number of complex issues including but not limited to:

a. Effect of teacher unionization on the quality of education for Blacks;

b. More attention to involving Black families, parent and community in education;

c. Adequate and long-term financing of education, including analyzing legislation currently pending in Congress that impacts on education;

d. Realistic examination of testing and its implications for Black youth to involve a collaborative effort between Black educators and black psychologists;

e. Commitment to the existence of Black colleges as viable institutions;

f. Reexamination of the impact of school desegregation on Black students and teachers; and

g. Examination of school financing policies and methods.

2. The existing educational system must include a redefinition of and a recommitment to a goal which confirms the educability of every child and examines and or incorporates an appropriate alternative educational program which equips the child to perform at maximum capacity in preparation for the real world of work.

3. There must be a realistic examination of education and the civil rights struggle relative to certain critical areas: racism, housing, self-perceptions among students in integrated and/or non-integrated settings.

4. Predominantly Black institutions of higher education are important national resources which must be preserved, expanded, and enhanced with adequate financial, political, legal, and moral support: and programs, policies, and practices deemed detrimental to their continued security must be rejected.

Income Maintenance

1. A universal income maintenance program should include a guaranteed minimum within 25% of a decent standard of living as defined by the BLS.

2. Support a full employment program which provides jobs at decent wages for all who need and want them.

3. Commitments must be made by the convening organizations to mobilize forces, especially those most affected by the outcome of these issues, to implement the Black agenda for the 80's.

4. There should be an assurance that research which is sensitive to the Black phenomena is compiled and used as the basis for testimony, statements, etc., before decision-making bodies.

Health

1. Establish an overall system of national health care services delivery throughout the United States, which provides comprehensive health care services, including curative, prevention, and health education, to all Americans equally, regardless of their economic status. This should be fully in place and operational prior to 1990.

2. Press all levels of government to reverse the trend in closures of inner-city hospitals which serve predominantly Black populations.

3. Reform the current mental health system to provide mental health services to Blacks who have historically been deprived of these services even though the Black population experiences a disproportionate number of the societal pressures which provoke mental health problems.

4. Make a national priority of involving Blacks in every level of health policy decision-making.

5. Guarantee full participation of Black students in all health professional and graduate education programs and include adequate federal financial support for traditionally Black health professional institutions and for increased Black enrollment in all institutions.

6. Support the Child Health Assurance Program which will provide basic medical services to low-income families.

7. Support the development of a comprehensive health training program which will include all segments of the community from all economic levels.

8. Implement Black-oriented programs geared toward education for the prevention of alcoholism.

9. Support prevention of drug abuse and the treatment of victims of drug abuse by increased funding to Black-oriented drug treatment programs.

10. Preventive and community health services should include increased federal and state financial support to train more Black physicians and dentists willing to serve the Black community.

11. Preventive and community health services should include an emphasis on health education, including periodic health assessments, vision, hearing and psychological testing and appropriate corrective action for students with behavioral and learning disabilities, and support for prenatal care for all women, regardless of financial status.

12. Health services should include comprehensive adolescent health programs which address special needs related to alcohol and drug abuse, sexual activity and nutrition. Special attention should be given to the need for high quality ambulatory case services and identification of a primary physician.

13. Increase the representation of Blacks in each of the MODVOPP public health, allied health, and bio-medical services in order to directly increase the availability and accessibility of health care services in Black and poor communities.

Criminal Justice

1. Blacks must be employed at every level of the criminal justice system; particularly at the policy-making level, and programs should be established and funded that will achieve this goal.

2. We must demand the establishment of a permanent national commission to review and recommend for approval all research related to Blacks in the criminal justice system and related areas.

3. We are opposed to the death penalty because it is cruel and unusual punishment and is not an effective deterrent to criminal activity, and we demand its abolition in all jurisdictions.

4. We are opposed to certain pending federal legislation dealing with new prison construction and revisions of the federal criminal code. (To be specified in final report.)

5. We demand the immediate cessation of police brutality and the establishment of a national commission to investigate police violence.

6. We are opposed to the current unequal application of the law at all levels within the criminal justice system, including enforcement officials, the judiciary, decision makers, etc.

7. National attention should be focused upon crime prevention and rehabilitation of the criminal offender particularly while the offender is confined within the penal institution.

8. Research must be undertaken to document the incidences of family violence and to develop educational programs to curtail such violence.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy and Consequences for Black Americans

1. The United States must take concerted action to bring about a just and lasting comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, including the resolution of the Palestinian homeland issue.

2. It is our contention that the assumption upon which the extraordinary increases in the military budget are based, which are contemplated over the next five years, are ill conceived, over reactive and a danger to the constructive search for world peace. For these reasons, we oppose these increases in the military budget and call for a significant reduction.

3. The resurgence of neo-militarism and resumption of cold war tension, exacerbated by distorted media coverage, in the aftermath of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan diverts re-

sources and attention away from critical domestic economic and social programs and the need to decrease unemployment at home; and it further prevents a positive U.S. response to the developing countries' legitimate call for a more just and equitable world economic order.

4. The Conference on a Black Agenda for the 80's is opposed to the renewal of selective service registration and the draft.

5. The Congressional Black Caucus and the U.S. Congress should support and seek public funding for international studies programs at historically Black colleges.

U.S./South Africa Relations

1. The United States should take measures to sever all economic, diplomatic, political and cultural relations with South Africa. These measures should include a ban on new investments by United States companies, a program of tax penalties designed to require withdrawal of current investments, a ban on new bank loans to South African borrowers, and termination of all exporation to and importation from South Africa.

2. The United States should submit and/or support a United Nations Chapter VII resolution proposing comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa on the grounds that South Africa's policy of apartheid poses an immediate threat to international peace and security and is in violation of the right of the people of South Africa to self-determination as guaranteed by the United Nations Charter.

3. Black American organizations and individuals should be strongly urged to render material and conceptual support to those African liberation groups and African governments committed to the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

4. The Congressional Black Caucus should introduce legislation which would prevent our national government from providing funding, supplemental or otherwise, to American corporations doing business with the Republic of South Africa.

African and Caribbean Economic Development

With the view that the United States economic assistance to and relations with the African and Caribbean countries should be free of all strings that might compromise the sovereignty and economic freedom of recipients, and in resolute opposition to all forms of colonialism and military intervention in the internal affairs of these states, the Conference on the Black Agenda for the 80's calls for:

1. An increased and more equitable program of economic assistance to and trade and private investment relations with Africa and the Caribbean. Specifically:

A. Regarding economic assistance: The United States should increase its overall level of foreign aid to 7/10ths of one percent of GNP. The African and Caribbean aid share of this should be increased to $5 billion. The allocation of aid to these countries should be according to need and not geopolitical considerations. The Congress should permit greater flexibility to enable the Agency for International Development to use its development assistance funds to help African and Caribbean countries repair their fragile economies through (1) balance of payments support, (2) infrastructure projects such as road, bridge and airport construction and repair, and not only the needed "basic needs" programs, and (3) the buildup of local capital goods industries that can feed an expansion not only in the modern industrial and urban sectors but also in the local agricultural sectors. Also, the U.S. should make substantial contributions to the African Development Bank despite the possible lack of voting representation on its board for non-African states, as well as to the African Development Fund where we are represented. The U.S. Congress should repeal all legislative restrictions on international institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program regarding the permissible recipient countries.

B. Regarding Trade and Private Investment Relations: The United States should support African and Caribbean efforts to achieve fair prices for their raw materials, access to our markets for their processed goods, and a more just international economic order. The U.S. Department of Commerce, the Export-Import Bank and other relevant agencies should help African states promote the sale of their goods in the United States.

Black American businessmen should be assisted by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and other government agencies promoting American investment abroad to bid on projects for which African countries seek foreign investors. Their numbers on U.S. government sponsored trade missions to Africa should be substantially increased. The legislation that provided for a Minority Business Resource Center within the AID should be implemented and similar programs established within all other agencies that pertain to overseas development, investment and trade. The U.S. should also implement a code of conduct for U.S. corporations operating abroad that recognizes the need for host countries to participate in management and capital structures of the companies that play important roles in their economies, and that promotes the training of management, the transfer of technology, and prohibits interference in the domestic affairs of the host country.

C. Regarding refugee assistance and political asylum: The United States should mount a major program to address the grave situation of 4 million African refugees and displaced persons, and modify the eligibility requirements for political asylum so that groups subjected to political and economic oppression from rightist as well as leftist authoritarian regimes are admissible into this country.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Voter Mobilization

1. Strengthen and expand existing voter mobilization programs and networks, including the Action Alert Network, the Black Leadership Forum, the National Black Leadership Roundtable and the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, and encourage the development of statewide voter mobilization coalitions to serve as vehicles for the implementation of voter mobilization strategies.

In pursuit of this objective, there must be a greater expenditure of energy and resources and a stronger commitment by Black leaders to become more directly involved in the efforts of local groups to increase Black voter participation.

These efforts should be undertaken under the umbrella of the national Operation Big Vote crusade which seeks to increase the number of Blacks registered to vote by 20 percent in 1980 and by similar amounts in election years throughout the decade. They should focus particularly on the 18 to 24 year old vote. Voter participation programs should be developed for rural as well as urban areas; for local as well as national elections; and for high school as well as college students and other citizens. Voter participation programs should be oriented toward precinct caucuses as well as state and local primary and general elections. Literature and other appeals should be aimed at all segments of the population, including the poor, the religious, street people, and Black colleges.

2. Blacks must support voter registration reforms which make it easier for citizens to register: post card registration, deputizing high school principals; and support renewal of the Voting Rights Act.

3. The Black electorate should develop systematic means and channels to identify, elect and hold accountable more public officials, especially Black officials.

4. Voter participation programs should emphasize the realities of the two-party political system in this country and the importance of full and active Black participation in both the Democratic and Republican parties and all of the programs, primaries and offices of these parties.

Political Parties and the Black Agenda

1. The major political parties should conduct a specific evaluation of their affirmative action programs and take immediate action to ensure full participation by Blacks in the party structure.

2. The parties also should study and evaluate their reforms and implement additional reforms, where appropriate, to assure broader Black representation and participation.

3. All party officials who presently hold leadership positions, by virtue of Black efforts during the 1960's, should be held accountable for their actions toward the Black community and should be urged to help mobilize the Black electorate to be more effective in the political process.

4. Blacks should acquire a better understanding of the political party process in order to take maximum advantage of opportunities afforded by that process to achieve the goals and aspirations of Black people.

5. Blacks should form local pressure groups to place greater demands on the political system and thereby to enhance the capacity of Black political leaders to effect positive changes in the political system and specifically in the political party structure.

6. The National Conference should establish a task force to study the feasibility of developing a Black political party.

How to Make the Governmental Process Work

1. The Conference should move to develop an institution capable of lobbying and monitoring government actions on behalf of blacks on a continuing basis. In addition, blacks should be encouraged and taught how to lobby on their own behalf at the state and local levels.

2. The Conference should take steps to encourage blacks to organize using where feasible the black churches as a starting point and build on that base. Local leaders and political activists should be encouraged to find ways of organizing the grass roots,

problem-ridden blacks by focusing on specific, concrete issues to which they can relate.

3. The Conference should call on government to make greater efforts to bring more black appointees into the bureaucracy and provide an atmosphere in which those who enter might be able to make progress rather than be forced out by racist environments and lack of opportunity for advancement.

4. The Conference should get involved in the national mobilization of Black voters to increase the number of blacks elected to public office.

Using the Census to Achieve Political and Economic Objectives

1. The Conference should urge all Black Americans to participate fully in the 1980 Census, and should hold the Federal government accountable for maintaining the confidentiality of all Census data.

2. The continued use of an inaccurate population figure results in a fundamental violation of the democratic and equal rights of Black people and other undercounted groups. We therefore demand the mandatory use of an adjusted population figure which includes the estimated undercount in all allocations of public monies and in the apportioning of political districts.

3. We demand that the U.S. government provide at least $5 million to train at least 100 Black demographers and social scientists who can be active in resolving the issue of the Black population undercount and in making the census a more useful and effective tool for solving the problems facing the Black community and the entire society. This training must include on-site internships at the offices of the Bureau of the Census and the use of Black college campuses as training centers where possible.

4. We urge conference participants to cooperate in popularizing the resolutions above.

5. The agricultural census should be improved to cover the special needs of Black farmers in regard to small farm units.

6. President Carter should put adequate funding back into the fiscal year 1981 budget to allow for planning a mid-decade census, and require that minority community-based organizations be involved in this planning process.

7. A task force should be formed, under the sponsorship of an existing coalition of national Black organizations, to follow up and review the status of all recommendations made to the Bureau of the Census that are of importance to Black people.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM SPECIAL WORKSHOPS

Civil Rights Enforcement and Expansion

1. The Black Agenda for the 80's must call on the public and private sectors to live up to and enforce all civil rights laws and regulations, i.e., Equal Employment Opportunity Programs; Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the Fair Housing Laws, and affirmative action programs.

We should advocate the strengthening of the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education and the Department of Health and Human Resources, including the training and staffing of field offices to insure adequate investigations.

2. In view of the resurgence of the KKK, the Black community must demand that official law enforcement agencies, federal, state, and local, investigate fully every incident of offensive KKK activity.

3. The Black community should be concerned about problems stemming from lack of student discipline and should work to achieve constructive solutions.

4. The Black community should join with persons of goodwill across racial, regional, partisan, political and special interest lines to persuade state legislators to vote "yes" on the ratification of the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment before August 22, 1985.

5. The Conference on a Black Agenda for the 1980's favors the establishment of independent or governmental bodies aimed at exposing FBI participation in the murder of civil rights activists in the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's.

6. We condemn the Greensboro massacre on November 3, 1979.

7. We demand immediate prosecution of the Klan and Nazi members involved in the Greensboro murders.

8. We demand dismissal of all charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators arrested on November 3, 1979, and demand that the full Depaprtment of Justice investigative report, related to the November 3rd, 1979 murders, be released to the widows of the slain demonstrators.

ERA

1. In order to support the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in at least three additional states as required, the facts regarding the ERA must be disseminated to broaden understanding of its nature, scope, and relevance to the Black Community. This proposed Constitutional amendment reads as follows: "Equality of rights under law shall not be abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

2. In view of the fact that the National Conference on a Black Agenda assembled in an unratified state the conference convenors have sent a letter to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia urging him to use the influence of his office to support ratification of the ERA in the Virginia Legislature.

3. In this same spirit, it is recommended that beginning March, 1980, and through June 30, 1982, wherever feasible Black organizations plan to hold national conventions in ratified states only, and include on their agendas the impact of ERA and its relevance to Black issues.

4. Because of the significant number of Black women who head families in the United States, it is recommended that quality developmental child care be supported by the federal government.

5. Blacks should join in coalitions with their allies who support the Black Agenda to work vigorously and effectively for the elimination of racism and sexism.

6. The Conference should call on all national women's organizations to support the Black agenda.

Black Youth

1. It is recommended that Conference Convenors will recognize that the present conference has failed to adequately provide for the inclusion of youth in the present proceedings. It is therefore recommended that all future national conferences or meetings will actively and systematically involve youth representatives in the planning and implementation of same. This recommendation is made to ensure that Black youth issues become and remain a major priority focus and will not be subsumed to other national issues.

2. It is recommended that Conference Convenors insist that all presidential candidates address the problems of Black Youth, including unemployment, and indicate their proposed strategies for dealing with these problems.

3. It is recommended that Black elected officials publicly commit themselves to increase their efforts to improve the condition of Black youth through a variety of legislative, administrative and political mechanisms and actively encourage Black youth participation in political and civic affairs.

4. It is recommended that a national Black youth network be established. The network will be constituted of local and national organizations interested in youth issues. The network will have a full-time staff.

5. It is recommended that the Conference oppose the present administration's proposal to reinstitute registration for the selective service and possible mandatory conscription at least until a complete assessment has been made and publicy discussed regarding the short and long range impact of such policies on Black youth; it is recommended also that all presidential candidates and elected officials address the issue of registration and the draft as it pertains to Black youth.

Media Ownership and Management

1. Develop a Black venture bank to fund prospective broadcast entrepreneurs.

2. Identify and support financially the best technical assistance agency Blacks can provide, to insure across the board technical assistance to prospective franchises.

3. Pool all communications legal assistance into one central bank to guarantee adequate and comprehensive legal assistance throughout the national Black community.

4. Identify prospective broadcast markets and develop individual feasibility studies to analyze their profitability.

5. Develop a national programming staff to take advantage of constantly changing access opportunities available in many communities.

6. Force the FCC to act responsibly on franchise award oversight and to bring into check the racist policies and procedures being used in local franchise hearings.

7. Provide regionalized broadcast workshops for Black Americans.

8. Develop a cadre of trained and experienced managers and professional technicians for the broadcasting industry through support of institutions which provide training as well as scholarships for persons interested in careers in this area.

9. Provide for access and development of software programming.

10. Develop and support a pool of legal and technical experts to assist in acquisition of broadcast properties.

11. Provide for sustained and systematic use of pressure and leverage to gain access to programming.

12. Develop a "How To" manual on Blacks' rights with respect to the media, programming, responsiveness, etc.

13. Establish a nationwide watchdog committee to monitor programming on all networks, radio stations and in the print media.

14. Recommend that the Black press do a feasibility study to identify areas in the country where there is a need for more independent Black media.

15. Monitor and apply pressure to advertisers who do not support Black newspapers, especially those whose products are largely consumed by the Black community.

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